University of Alberta

Ukrainian Canadian Weddings as Expressions of Ethnic Identity
Contemporary Edmonton Traditions

by

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This thesis is dedicated to

my parents, Keechan Hong and Namsub Shim, who have provided me with unconditional love and support throughout my life.

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ABSTRACT

In this study, I have discussed Ukrainian Canadians' expression of ethnic identity through their wedding rituals. I applied prior research into both wedding rituals and ethnic identity to Ukrainian Canadians in Edmonton.

Ritual, community, and ethnic identity were the key concepts framing the discussion presented in this study. Throughout the discussions focusing on these concepts, this study emphasized that ethnicity can be a dynamic and evolving force in Ukrainian Canadian life rather than simply a presentation of old practices.

Throughout this study, I argued that there are many factors that influence on the expression of ethnic identity. In fact, my fieldwork materials indicate that ethnic intermarriage is somewhat related to lower ethnic identification and that in terms of examining the expression of ethnic identity, ethnic origin is an important factor as sociologists proposed. However, in this study I discussed that for examining ethnic identity, whether a person participates in cultural or religious ethnic organizations can be as important as whether the person has a single or multiple ethnic origin.

The expression of ethnicity is also related to Ukrainian Canadians' responses to their personal, social, political, religious, economic situations and environments. This study provided evidence that different responses resulted in different forms of ethnic expression. This study viewed ethnicity as a dynamic process, driven by multiple relationships, among Ukrainian Canadians as well as between them and other ethnic people or the mainstream society. From this point of view, I emphasized the notion that what is distinctively "Ukrainian Canadian" has been itself a product of this synergistic encounter of multiple peoples and cultures.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Most Canadians are descendants of immigrants, people who once chose to leave another country and to live in Canada. Ukrainians began immigrating to Canada over one hundred years ago. Along with any possessions that they might have had, Ukrainian immigrants brought to Canada the customs, songs, stories, and other folklore that were a part of everyday life in the old country. Many immigrants did not speak English and were not familiar with Canadian life. They often settled in ethnic settlements and created small cultural islands in places and groups where they could feel at home. In their families and in larger communities, immigrants could speak the language and practice the traditions of their homelands.

Ukrainian immigrant children, like all other children, wanted to be like their peers. Their Canadian teachers and others sometimes made them feel ashamed of their parents and the non-Canadian traditions they had followed at home. For reasons such as this, some immigrant families rejected the language and folklore of their parents in order to better adapt to Canadian culture.

Unlike their parents, however, the grandchildren of Ukrainian immigrants have different emotional conflicts about their cultural heritage. Third- or fourth-generation Ukrainians speak English very well and have grown up like most other mainstream Canadians. Members of this generation sometimes have an interest in their family's past and look to earlier generations of their family or to the homeland of their ancestors for ways to express their personal ethnic identity. They are no longer immigrants. Their everyday lives are like the lives of mainstream Canadians, and yet they maintain a sense of specific cultural identity. Folklore can be a powerful symbol of their ethnic heritage.

In this study I aim to discuss specific aspects: the culture and ethnic identity not only of the descendants of Ukrainian immigrants (1st, 2nd, and 3rd generation Canadians), but also of recent immigrants from Ukraine. Do they still wish to maintain their ethnic heritage and identity? What kinds of symbols do they use to express their ethnic identity? These are some of the issues that this study will touch upon, explaining why and how descendants of Ukrainian immigrants identify themselves with their ethnic heritage during their weddings, which can include multiple ethnic symbols and customs.

1.1 The motivation for this study

Ethnic identity or ethnicity has been discussed in many ways in Canada. The following sociological studies provided me with many research questions, but made me decide to approach the issue of ethnicity from a particular perspective and to use a specific methodology.

Some sociologists have questioned whether ethnic identity is currently a significant feature of self-identity among Canadians. They may argue that ethnicity may not be a significant feature of many Canadians' self-identity. According to Kalin and Berry (2000), the existence in Canada of a prevalent and strong Canadian identity, coupled with the presence of relatively non-salient and weak ethnic identities, suggests that civic identity in Canada is more important than ethnic identity (p. 103).

From a similar point of view, a few scholars have examined ethnic self-identity in Canada in the context of regional and national affiliations. A good deal of attention has been paid to whether Canadians view themselves in national (e.g., Canadian), hyphenated ethnic (e.g., Ukrainian-Canadian), or ethnic (e.g., Ukrainian) terms.

Driedger, Thacker and Currie (1982) conducted studies in Winnipeg and Edmonton, where they asked respondents: "How would you define your ethnicity?" The three possible responses were then coded into one of three categories – Canadian, hyphenated Canadian, and ethnic. In Winnipeg, 30 percent of the respondents identified themselves as Canadian, 10 percent as hyphenated, and 50 percent as ethnic. In Edmonton, 49 percent identified themselves as Canadians, 8 percent as hyphenated, and 37 percent as ethnic (pp. 57-68).

According to the authors, these results indicated that number of people who identify themselves as "Canadian" may increase with rapid urban change, as the Edmonton data suggested. The larger number of participants who defined themselves as "Canadian" in Edmonton, compared to the participants in Winnipeg, suggested that rapid change did result in some participants not identifying themselves as "ethnic." Another result of this study was that more respondents in both cities classified their spouses and parents as "ethnic" than classified themselves in this way. This result suggested that the respondents tended to apply the "ethnic" category more to others than to themselves. Alternatively, this finding could also suggest that the respondents' own ethnic identities were no longer as salient as those of their parents (Driedger, Thacker, & Currie, 1982, p. 66).

Some researchers doubt whether ethnic identity exists in reality. According to Lupul (1984), even though social scientists designate some Canadians as "ethnic," this designation may have little reality in the minds of Canadians (pp. 116-117). Porter (1979) has suggested that ethnicity may well be a construction of the federal census rather than the social reality it is claimed to be (p. 181). These perspectives are consistent with a dominant sociological approach to ethnicity, which insists on the eventual absorption of an ethnic group into the larger culture and general population, or in other words, on the final disappearance of ethnic groups by assimilation and acculturation (Gans, 1979, p. 194).

As a student of folklore who has studied Ukrainian ethnic identity, I would like to emphasize the following issues of ethnic identity. First, I would emphasize that ethnic identity is a less objective, more psychological construct. For this reason, a person can answer questions about his or her ethnic identity differently according to the method of questioning, the person's psychological situation, and other factors. For example, if a person is asked to answer a direct question, such as "How do you identify yourself?", the respondent might identify with an ethnic group because the researcher has directed the respondent's attention to ethnic identity. For those whose families have a more mixed background in terms of ethnic origin and who have participated in more than one ethnic community and more than one cultural sphere, the answer to the direct question will be more complicated. I propose that we can get more useful information about someone's ethnic identity if the person is asked to describe him- or herself by answering indirect questions, for example, about his or her wedding rituals or preferred foods, factors usually involving ethnic symbols and reflecting a person's ethnic self-identification. The methodology for this type of study on ethnic self-identification can be based on fieldwork research that collects qualitative data about what people actually think and do. This type of methodology can focus on the participants in the study, allowing them to speak for themselves.

Secondly, I think the problem of ethnic identity "is not so much a matter of faster or slower assimilation, and non-assimilation" (Isajiw, 1974, p. 121), as of how, why, and when people ethnically identify themselves, and with what meaning and effects. The emphasis on assimilation and the skeptical view of ethnic identity do not interest me as a basis for study.

Some sociologists have attempted to prove that ethnic identity in Canada is a temporary matter and that all ethnics will be assimilated into Canadian mainstream culture while the boundaries between it and ethnic groups disappear. Similarly, the maintenance of ethnic identity has been assumed to be an issue caused exclusively by ethnic groups themselves rather than by features inherent in the society at large. According to Isajiw (1974), "neither of these assumptions can be justified" because "much evidence indicates that in North America, ethnic identities persist beyond cultural assimilation and that persistence of ethnic identity is not necessarily related to the perpetuation of traditional ethnic culture" (p. 121). Moreover, even Gans, who proposed the concept of "symbolic ethnicity" and argued for strait line assimilation in 1979, admitted in 1996 that he had been wrong to predict the disappearance of ethnic and racial groups by assimilation and acculturation (p. 453).

The skeptical view of ethnic identity as a social reality may have originated because ethnic identity may be not visible. According to Anderson (1983), ethnic communities are based on an act of imagination, not necessarily on a visible reality. The symbolic edges of a community are invisible: "Ethnic and national identities operate in the lives of individuals by connecting them with some people, dividing them from others" (Appiah & Gates, 1995, p. 3). However, Leeds-Hurwitz (2002) asked whether the symbolic edges are truly invisible. In her opinion, even though the boundary between communities may not be a physical phenomenon, the existence of a community is marked through physical means because members of different communities most often act, think, and believe in different ways. Leeds-Hurwitz believed that nonverbal aspects of communication serve to mark the boundary lines of communities. If people share foods, clothes, and objects with others, then they are making a statement — a concrete, physical statement, visible to all — about having something in common (p. 26). Leeds-Hurwitz's study and many others indicate that ethnic identification can be expressed through those visible signs.

Based on the assumption that ethnic identification can be expressed through visible signs, I decided to conduct ethnographic research on how Ukrainian descendants identify themselves through their weddings. Next, I will explain how I will deal with the issues relating to Ukrainian ethnic identity and what theoretical framework I will use for this study.

1.2 Theoretical perspectives

This study draws on a number of theoretical approaches, but is based mainly on the following:

1.2.1 Cultural Foregrounding

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1983) introduced the notion of cultural foregrounding to provide a useful framework for studying the folklore of ethnicity. A cultural foreground is the place where multiple [ethnic] cultural modes compete with each other and where people can invoke these multiple cultural codes and alternate among them at a certain time, to a certain end, and with a certain meaning and effect (pp. 43-44). Kirshenblatt-

Gimblett introduced the concept of cultural foregrounding as a distinctive characteristic of American society. Just as people can and do acquire more than one language, so too do they acquire various degrees of competence in more than one cultural mode. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett explained that this multilingual, multicultural competence increases the repertoires and alternatives available to individuals and their various communities. For example, Italian families who eat an American-style dish (meat and vegetables) one night and an Italian-style dish (sauce with pasta) the next on a regular basis may be said to engage in cultural code-switching. Just as the attitudes of bilingual speakers may vary concerning the need to keep their languages discrete or to allow interpenetrations and code-switching, the attitudes toward the use of the cultural repertoires also vary (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, p. 43).

Instead of focusing on the confrontation between a larger mainstream culture and an ethnic culture and emphasizing the assimilation of the ethnic culture into the larger one, I will view Canadian society as the cultural ground where diverse ethnic cultures co-exist and compete, providing multiple cultural repertoires to individuals and communities and letting them practice cultural code-switching.

1.2.2 Ethnicity as a social construction

"Ethnicity" has been defined from two major perspectives. The first perspective views ethnicity as ascribed status or primordial quality. This perspective tends to regard ethnicity as unchangeable attributes given at birth. The alternative perspective views ethnicity as a social construction, emphasizing its changeable quality. According to this perspective, ascribed characteristics may be a key criterion of ethnicity, but not the decisive one. Rather, ethnicity is a cultural construction accomplished over historical time. Ethnicity is not a collective fiction, but, rather, a process of construction that incorporates and adapts cultural attributes and historical memories.

The proponents of the first view assume that ethnic groups exist as real phenomena. This view assumes that an ethnic group's members have a common origin, share important aspects of a common culture, and participate in shared activities in which the common origin and culture are significant ingredients (Yinger, 1994, p. 3). Adherents of this view have dominated discussions of immigrant adaptation. Anthropologists Geertz (1973) and Isaacs (1975) have emphasized its primordial character, originating in the basic group identity of human beings. According to this perspective, individuals have an essential need for "belonging" that is satisfied by being members of groups with a shared ancestry and culture. Novak (1971) believed that such primordial ethnicity continues to influence powerfully the descendants of immigrants, even into the third and fourth generations.

One the other hand, the second perspective defines "ethnicity" as a process by which individuals either identify themselves as being different from others or as belonging to a different group, are identified as different by others, or both identify themselves and are identified by others as different (Yinger, 1994, pp. 3-4). Isajiw (1974) explained that ethnicity is a matter of boundary or, in fact, a double boundary, both "from within, maintained by the socialization process, and a boundary from without, established by the process of intergroup relations" (pp. 24-25). The ethnic features that are taken into account are not the sum of objective differences, but of only those that the ethnic individuals themselves regard as significant.

Another issue in the discussion related to ethnic identity involves the explanation of the future of ethnic communities. This issue has been discussed from two different perspectives. In the first perspective, it is believed that the ethnic communities in a multicultural society like Canada will be assimilated and will disappear. Gans (1979) developed the assimilationist theory, which predicts the gradual disappearance of ethnicity in the future. In the article in which he first defined the concept of "symbolic ethnicity," he wrote, "My hypothesis is that in this generation, people are less and less interested in their ethnic cultures and organizations" (p. 202). Gans continued to explain that symbolic ethnicity "does not require functioning groups and networks" and does not need a "practiced culture" (p. 209).

Gans' symbolic ethnicity has interested many scholars. Alba (1992), who studied ethnic indicators in the Italian-American communities in the state of New York, found that ethnic identity was significantly related to language, to ethnic foods, and to ethnic festivals. According to him, attachment to language does not mean that a people are fluent in their ethnic language, but that they use a few words or phrases as forms of "ethnic signaling" that can remind others of a shared ethnic background (p. 84).

Bakalian (1993) also insisted that symbolic ethnicity can persist independently of any immediate demand for symbolic products. She observed that ethnic groups now preserve some of their cultural heritage through what she called a "knowledge bank" such as university chairs in ethnic studies, ethnic museums, or displays in larger museums (p. 45). Her observation suggests that symbolic ethnicity does not require a living ethnic group or culture and can be pursued through ethnic "museum culture" whether it flourishes in museums, research monographs or CD-ROMs, data banks, and their yet unknown technological descendants.

One disadvantage of this "assimilationist" perspective is that it presents the individual as a passive conduit for the collective past, disregarding the individual's ability to choose and create (Alter, 1979, p. 191). The second perspective argues that, given that ethnicity is a constructed notion, people are able to construct, reconstruct, or invent a variety of ethnicities that can follow any 'line' or none at all.

Barth's (1969) concept of "ethnic boundary" greatly enriched this perspective on ethnicity. For Barth, the ethnic boundary defines the group, not the cultural content (p. 68). The history of an ethnic group is not only the history of its culture. Barth argued that the culture of a specific group at a specific time differs from the group's culture at a previous time. Culture is the result of the constant negotiation and renegotiation of the group's identity and boundaries, which often depend more on the same process operating in other groups, and the larger social and political context, than on the group's internal structure (Barth, p. 68).

Another important concept in the discussion of "new" ethnicities is their "imagined character" (Anderson, 1991; Sollors, 1989). For Anderson, who spoke mainly of nations rather than ethnic groups, such "communities are imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p. 6). Thus, ethnicity is no longer seen as an atemporal personality and/or cultural feature, but, rather, as the result of historical constructions and contexts. Ethnic groups are both active in constructing diverse forms of nationalisms and interactions and in being the result of such construction. These groups are also the result of changes in the concept of "ethnicity" itself.

Sollos (1989) defined "ethnicity" as "an acquired modern sense of belonging that replaces visible, concrete communities whose kinship symbolism ethnicity may yet mobilize in order to appear more natural," and he argued that ethnicity results not from any a priori cultural difference, but from "the specificity of power relations at a given historical moment and in a particular place" (pp. xiv, xvi). Like Sollors, Conzen et al. (1992) did not view ethnicity as primordial (ancient, unchanging, inherent in a group's blood, soul, or misty past), but he differed from Sollos in his understanding of ethnicity as a cultural construction accomplished over historical time. In his view, "ethnicity is not a 'collective fiction,' but rather a process of construction or invention that incorporates, adapts, and amplifies preexisting communal solidarities, cultural attributes, and historical memories" (Conzen et al., "The invention of ethnicity").

This present study attempts to incorporate both perspectives. While this study views ethnicity, which is non-primordial and changeable, as a process of social construction, it also recognizes that the social construction of ethnicity develops around existing characteristics such as common origins and cultural traits. However, those characteristics are neither fixed nor a sufficient condition for the active significance of ethnicity. In this study, I propose evidence that assimilation is not a linear process. In fact, the threat of assimilation may stimulate ethnic awareness and increase attention to ethnicity and the desire to declare ethnic affiliation. Thus, I pay special attention to the dynamics of culture negotiation: What are the forces pushing for assimilation? What are the forces pushing for retention or resurgence of ethnic consciousness?

In this study, I also attempt to divide Ukrainian ethnic communities into "nominal Ukrainians" and "active Ukrainians." "Nominal Ukrainians" (people who are Ukrainian only symbolically) have a biological connection to their ancestors from Ukraine. They tend not to speak Ukrainian, not to join Ukrainian organizations, and not to be participants in Ukrainian rituals and social practices. However, they continue to have a psychological connection to other Ukrainian Canadians. "Nominal Ukrainians" still may have the sense of "feeling ethnic," a sense manifesting itself in the selection of certain symbols that link the individual to the community (Isajiw, 1974). "Active Ukrainians" are immigrants from Ukraine or descendants of those immigrants who take an active role in organized activities with other individuals of Ukrainian descent; they tend to continue to use the Ukrainian language and make a conscious effort to maintain Ukrainian rituals and social practices.

I also attempt to apply Glazer and Moynihan's (1970) point that various ethnic groups, owing to their distinctive historical experiences, their cultures and skills, the times of their arrival, and the economic situations they encounter, develop distinctive economic, political, and cultural patterns. As their old models of culture fall away, these groups acquire new ones, shaped by the distinctive experiences of life in the new environment, and a new identity is created. More the less they call themselves by the same ethnic name as the previous generations – "Ukrainian". Often the new identity has little resemblance to that of the country of origin. In fact, as an ethnic group evolves, its members are linked to other members of the group by new attributes that the original immigrants would never have recognized as identifying their group (Glazer & Moyanihan, 1970, p. vi). The creation of the new ethnicity is the dynamic process of ethnicization. As Conzen et al. (1992) explained, this is driven by multiple interactions that can be "competitive, cooperative or conflictual, and perhaps a combination of all three" ("The invention of ethnicity"). This present study envisions that through the dynamic process of ethnicization, everyone, not only in the Ukrainian community but also in the mainstream society, is changed in what is a dialectical process.

1.3 Research Object: Weddings

1.3.1 Why study weddings?

First, "ethnicity is the very essence of what weddings are all about" (Lalli, 1987, p. 2). Weddings are a good research object for the study of ethnic identity because they include many ethnic symbols. A variety of elements, such as liturgy, music, food, clothing, and objects are actively used by the participants in wedding rituals, and each of them may involve ethnic symbols and create meaning for the participants.

Second, unlike other rituals, weddings are often planned months or years in advance, with even small details given consideration. Thus, weddings serve as examples of what people are capable of doing when they take the time to think ahead and plan their behavior (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002, pp. 8-9). Ukrainian weddings provide a good topic of study for researchers wanting to see what Ukrainian Canadians choose to do for their weddings after devoting considerable attention to organizing a public display.

Third, weddings are a good subject for research into how interactions (or communications) are achieved between families, generations, or communities. To some degree, each family has its own traditions and expectations. So, for a wedding to take place, two families with different traditions need to combine and then mount a ritual event. Tensions may be created between both families or between parents and children if the participants try to maintain power by influencing what elements will be incorporated to the exclusion of others. Thus, at weddings, "all of the issues available for study are magnified: the joining of families, the resolution of conflicts, the fulfilling of expectations and the integration of the past with the present" (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002, p. 21).

1.3.2 What type of weddings will be discussed?

In this project, "intra-" and "inter-ethnic" weddings are discussed. The former are weddings between people who have the same ethnic or cultural origin, in this case, Ukrainian ethnic origin. The latter are weddings between people who have different ethnic backgrounds.

As well as using these two terms to refer to weddings, this study also uses another term, "mainstream wedding." In general, weddings in Canada are the subject of extensive treatment in popular culture. Films, books, magazines, and web sites are devoted to weddings. As well, wedding specialists, from florists and caterers, are accustomed to handling small portions of the event, whereas wedding planners serve as contractors overseeing everyone else's contributions. These and other vehicles convey a "mainstream Canadian" standardized version of what a wedding is "supposed" to look like (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002, pp. 59-65).

1.3.3 What will be discussed?

This study is about the ethnic identity and culture of the descendants of Ukrainian immigrants. Therefore, ethnicity or ethnic identity must be the main issue for discussion. Two variables make up the theoretical model I use to explain human behaviour – macro and micro variables. The former involve the structure of society while the latter involve the individual. In order to explain the structure of society, this study provides statistical data for Ukrainian Canadians in Edmonton and their marriage patterns. For the micro understanding of how people behave at their weddings, this study describes recent wedding rituals from the perspectives of the participants. This focus upon the individual and structural factors will allow for the assessment of both the internal dynamics of an ethnic group and the interaction among two or more ethnic communities in a given locale.

In order to discuss the issue of ethnic identity, I propose three key concepts: ritual, community, and ethnic identity. They will be the key concepts framing the discussion presented in this study. What is the relationship among ritual, community and ethnic identity? A ritual is an act or actions intentionally conducted by a group of people employing one or more symbols in a repetitive, formal, precise, highly stylized fashion (Myerhoff, 1992, p. 129). Communities use rituals as one way to convey information to members and to identify particularly significant occasions (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002, p. 87). Ethnic identity is about who you are in terms of ethnic background. Ethnic identity can be conveyed through rituals by ethnic individuals and communities.

1.4 Research Methods and Procedures

1.4.1 Interviews

The main method of collecting information was the recording of interviews with Ukrainian Canadians and their spouses who had married within the last 15 years as well as with other participants who had directly participated in Ukrainian Canadian weddings. The Ukrainian Canadians in this study include not only those who are descendants of Ukrainian immigrants, but also those who are recent immigrants themselves.

The married couples who participated in this study can be classified into two groups: (1) twenty intra-ethnic couples and (2) twelve inter-ethnic couples. Each participant was further identified as single origin (his/her parents were both Ukrainian), or multiple origin (previous generations experienced inter-ethnic weddings). I attempted to interview each husband and wife as a couple together. I chose to limit myself to weddings that had occurred in or near Edmonton.

Besides married couples, I also interviewed other wedding participants who had played a specific role in wedding rituals: a priest, folk crafter, church choir member, cook, florist, painter, *korovai* (wedding bread) maker, icon maker, and others.

Most interviews were conducted fact-to-face, but a few interviews were conducted by electronic mail if this method was convenient for the participants. I also viewed photographs and videotapes of weddings, accompanied by the participants' descriptions of the contents.

In order to determine what images were available from popular culture for a bride and groom making their wedding decisions, I examined films, television shows that included wedding scenes, wedding magazines, and other professional literature such as brochures, advertisements, and special sections of newspapers devoted to coverage of weddings.

The same questions were prepared for all married couples while different questions were designed for the other participants to discover what their roles in weddings had involved. The goal of those questions was to encourage the participants to describe, not prescribe, behavior. In contrast to quantitative approaches, which emphasize the analysis of products, this study was designed to pursue qualitative issues.

This study also used several archival materials in numerous collections containing interviews recorded by previous researchers, as well as photographs and other valuable materials.

The interview questions for the married couples were divided into two parts (See Appendix 1): (1) personal information and (2) wedding information. The personal questions usually began by asking about the participants' personal and family history. I asked the informants about their ethnic origin (single or multiple) as well as their family history. This part of the interviews also included questions about the degree of the informants' attachment to tradition as well as their previous and current involvement in Ukrainian cultural and/or religious organizations. Finally, I asked my informants to identify their own ethnicity. These discussions provided a great deal of personal information about their perceptions of their ethnic identity.

The second group of questions for the married couples was organized according to the sequence of the wedding rituals from the pre-wedding phase to the post-wedding phase. These questions were designed to learn about the following factors: (1) the presence of the traditional Ukrainian wedding structure and 19th and early 20th century elements in these recent Ukrainian Canadian weddings, (2) the non-traditional elements in Ukrainian Canadian weddings, (3) the influence of mainstream culture, popular culture, or the wedding industry, and (4) the role of cultural and/or religious organizations in creating the ethnic symbols that are engaged.

The questions for the other wedding participants also consisted of two parts: questions about personal information and about the participants' specific roles in the weddings they had attended. I attempted to learn about the following factors: (1) these participants' interpretations of, or perspectives on, contemporary Ukrainian Canadian wedding rituals, (2) the participants' use of ethnic expressions in weddings, and (3) the participants' roles in creating ethnic symbols.

1.4.2 Overview of interviews

In most cases, I did not know the persons I had chosen to interview, so I needed to establish some kind of rapport with them. I usually explained to them the general purpose of my research and what kind of questions I would ask. Also, I asked the participants to show me their photos, videotapes, or invitation cards. In general, the informants understood what I needed and provided me with useful information. However, obtaining all the details about a wedding was a time-consuming process. I often realized that a two-hour interview was not enough to get all information that I needed. Sometimes, after the first question, some informants talked and talked, and I could not guide the direction of the interview as I had expected to. Schoemaker (1990) recommended holding a preliminary meeting with informants: "What I have done in the past is to meet with my informants or collaborators a few days before the interview and just run through, in a general way, the interview scenario. This way the informants know exactly what will transpire and can put themselves at ease" (p. 6). Arranging two meetings with my informants was difficult, but if I had been able to view their wedding photos or videotapes in advance, the interviews would have been more efficient.

Ethnicity, the focus of this study, is a very subjective matter. Thus, an informant's responses to certain questions can be very different from the answers of other informants. In this study, I attempted to find the physical signs that distinguish communities from each other, because the members of a community can act, think, and believe differently from the members of other communities. Thus, I asked the informants if they had included certain ethnic symbols or rituals in their wedding. I now analyze that informant sometimes understood the intention of this question differently, for I received very different responses to it. Some of the intra-ethnic couples, who had had traditional Ukrainian weddings, were very proud to list the ethnic symbols and rituals that they had included in their weddings. However, some informants, who had married non-Ukrainians, but had expressed a strong sense of Ukrainianness in their weddings, often emphasized their Canadian ethnicity, saying, "I am Canadian." They might have given this reply because they thought that my questions were intended to determine if they had ignored their spouses' cultures and emphasized their own Ukrainian ethnic culture at their weddings. In contrast, I also interviewed a non-Ukrainian husband who felt sorry for not including any Ukrainian elements in his wedding. Those respondents who had not expressed much sense of Ukrainianness in their weddings often responded, "Materials are not important, they don't reflect us." Those who, as Ukrainians, had experienced any cultural or social prejudice, often de-emphasized the ethnic or heritage aspects of Ukrainian culture, and emphasized on other elements, such as religion. Even though I had not intended to seem judgmental, some informants might have misunderstood me and felt uncomfortable with my questions. As Schoemaker (1990) said, the interview format itself is unintentionally designed to put one of the participants in a dominant position (p. 6). On the one hand, the interviewer is in a dominant position, but on the other hand, the informant is dominant because he/she possesses the desired information. The relationship is constantly being renegotiated every time a new question is asked (pp. 6-7).

These examples indicate that the fieldworker must carefully interpret the information obtained from interviews. According to Maanen (1988), a culture is expressed or constituted only by the actions and words of its members and must be interpreted by a fieldworker. To portray a culture, the fieldworker must hear, see, and then write about what he or she witnessed and understood in the field. Maanen commented, “Culture is not itself visible, but is made visible only through its representation” (p. 3). Marcus (1980) also stated that ethnography is the result of fieldwork, but it is the written report that must represent the culture, not the fieldwork itself. Ethnography as a written product (how culture is portrayed) has a degree of independence from the fieldwork on which it is based (p. 510). To analyze the information obtained from interviews, I needed to be independent from my fieldwork.

1.4.3 Field research by outsiders

Being an insider is a big advantage for field research. As an insider, a researcher knows the members of the community he or she is studying and also where group activities take place. The researcher may also know which traditions are important for the group. If the researcher speaks his or her group’s language, the researcher will have access to a gold- mine of information unavailable to most other ethnic scholars. As an outsider, I admit that I had certain disadvantages. In the initial stage of my interview process, I had difficulty in finding interviewees. Initially, in order to find informants, I asked my friends and acquaintances to help me. I told people what I was studying, and they introduced me to their friends, relatives, neighbours, or colleagues who satisfied my research criteria. Secondly, I also contacted Ukrainian cultural or religious organizations by phone or e-mail. With the consent of the person who was in charge of the organizations, I contacted their members. Thirdly, I posted an advertisement to ask for volunteers from church boards. This advertisement described my research project and my background. In spite of all my efforts, however, I could not find many interviewees during the first few months. Only after I had met two active Ukrainian community members, who were eager to introduce me to other active members, could I accelerate my research. Those two active individuals made over thirty phone calls to their friends and acquaintances for introducing me to them. Only with their help, I could conduct this research.

Finding informants was difficult for several reasons. Firstly, some people seemed to think that my project was not serious enough for them to spend around two hours to meet with me. I was often seen as a novice who knew little or nothing about Ukrainian culture. Thus, some of my informants brought their own books about *korovai* or Ukrainian food and recommended these books to me. Secondly, many people assumed that I was looking for "super strong Ukrainianness" in their weddings. Many informants told me that their weddings had not been very traditional. Especially those who had married non-Ukrainians assumed that their weddings would not provide any interesting materials for my study. For this reason, more time was required to find inter-ethnic couples than intra-ethnic couples. Ultimately, I was able to interview only twelve inter-ethnic couples, eight less than the number of intra-ethnic couples that I interviewed. Fourthly, most of my informants, who were between twenty and forty years old, were extremely busy. Thus, finding a convenient time to interview them was difficult. Since I had planned to interview both the husband and wife together, I often had to reschedule an interview with the same couple several times. I found that the process of establishing a network with Ukrainian informants had been particularly helpful because my entry into the field became easier only through their help. I believe that I could have found informants much more easily if I had been of Ukrainian origin and had already been a member of a network with Ukrainian Canadians.

However, being an outsider was not always a disadvantage. As an outsider, while not having many of the advantages of an insider, I might have been better prepared to record all the necessary information about a group, including things that an insider might think too obvious to mention, or the less positive aspects of ethnic activities. Also, insiders may make the mistake of thinking that they know everything about their own ethnic group, or of describing only what they like to see in their group. Fieldworkers must keep a distance between themselves and the people they study (Šmidchens, 1990, p. 135).

I tried to compensate for my weaknesses while being aware of the strengths and weaknesses of both the insider's and outsider's points of view. For example, in order to be able to communicate with Ukrainian speakers in Ukrainian, I took classes in Ukrainian. Even though I conducted all interviews in English, I often introduced myself in Ukrainian to informants who can speak Ukrainian to create a positive impression. This practice usually worked well for breaking the ice as well as for developing a closer relationship. The response, particularly from the intra-ethnic couples, was often one of delight and joy. They were genuinely curious about someone who was not Ukrainian, but was studying Ukrainian folklore.

1.5 Previous research and related literature

1.5.1 Weddings in General

Because of the nature of the theoretical perspectives informing this study, I will focus on the literature considering the relationship between weddings and ethnicity. Among the many studies that I have read, here I discuss three major ones, which provided me with my main theoretical framework and perceptions of the relationship between weddings and ethnicity.

One of the major studies that provided me with the theoretical framework for this dissertation is Leeds-Hurwitz's *Wedding as Text: Communicating Cultural Identities Through Rituals* (2002). The author used a theoretical framework combining semiotics with social constructionism, for she perceived weddings as particularly interesting in their ability to serve as a vehicle to convey meanings that the various participants have jointly constructed.

Leeds-Hurwitz believed that weddings serve admirably for the study of semiotics because they involve the combination of multiple signs and social codes, the building blocks of semiotics. These signs and codes reflect the cultural identity of the participants in wedding rituals. Through the building blocks of semiotics, weddings display who we are and who we will become. We use rituals as a way of telling ourselves stories about our identity (who we are) and our communities (the groups we live with). Through wedding rituals, people communicate socially by revising old symbols and creating new ones.

Even though semiotics is not the main theoretical framework of this dissertation, I tried to find a variety of codes (e.g., liturgy, music, song, food, clothing and objects) that are vehicles for conveying Ukrainian ethnic identity. I expected that these codes would mark the boundary lines between the Ukrainian community and other communities, illustrating that Ukrainians have concrete elements expressing something in common among themselves.

Leeds-Hurwitz's perception of social constructionism guided the design of my dissertation's theoretical framework. According to her study, to study social constructionism is to study the active creation of meaning and to view human reality as a product of social interaction. From this point of view, I investigated how Ukrainian descendants create meaning for themselves through wedding rituals. My investigation focused on the relation between the individual and the larger group or community, the connections between tradition and creativity, and the conflict and consensus between generations or between families. Focusing on these elements, I expected to find how Ukrainian descendants construct social communication and identify themselves through their wedding rituals.

Along with the larger issue of meaning construction, Leeds-Hurwitz's study also provided narrower topics to study: the connection between the individual and the group or society; the connections between culture and communication, tradition and creativity, and ritual process and product; the resolution of conflicts through the achievement of consensus; the connections between private ideas and public displays, and the sacred and the secular; and others. Leeds-Hurwitz's theories and methods became a model for this dissertation.

However, the nature of this dissertation makes it different from Leeds-Hurwitz's work. Firstly, the studies' major concerns differ. One of Leeds-Hurwitz's major issues was intercultural communication. Her goal was to study what she believed to be the heart of the field: how people of different cultural backgrounds interact together. Thus, she focused on intercultural weddings, attempting to answer how meanings are constructed by and for the participants in these weddings. In contrast, this dissertation's major concern is ethnicity. This study also focuses on how people interact with each other in planning and performing wedding rituals, but the main focus is on the various ways that the participants use wedding rituals to identify themselves ethnically.

Secondly, the variety of weddings that each study covers also differs. Leeds-Hurwitz focuses on intercultural weddings, which have five major varieties: international, interracial, interethnic, interfaith and interclass. In contrast, among those five major varieties, I focused on only interethnic weddings, and I also included intra-ethnic weddings in this dissertation. Thus, I focused on the weddings of Ukrainian people who are not only within a single ethnic community, but who also interact interethnically. According to Leeds-Hurwitz (2002), "if the bride and groom belong to a single community, their wedding is not intercultural but monocultural and the problem [of ethnic differences] does not arise" (p. 50). However, in this study I consider that even a single ethnic community is not homogeneous, for its members can be divided by varying combinations of regional origin, economic status, politics, religion and other factors. Thus, intra-ethnic weddings can also have the same complexities as interethnic weddings. Overall, Leeds-Hurwitz's study provided this study with its theoretical tools and framework, but this study applied them to a different kind of research project involving different issues.

Another important study for this dissertation is Janet S. Theophano's " "I Gave Him a Cake": An Interpretation of Two Italian-American Weddings" (1991). This study helped me to understand the dynamic process of ethnicity, providing me with three important perceptions: (1) ethnicity can be a creative response to personal and social problems; (2) symbols are not fixed points of tradition, but rather frames of reference and meaning within which ethnic groups and individuals respond to social, political, religious or economic pressures; and (3) ethnic symbols, such as food, can reflect an individual's desire to communicate something about his or her heritage, identity, and conflicts.

Theophano described how an Italian-American woman, Marcella, arranged weddings for two of her daughters, serving different styles of food at each wedding. Marcella and her husband have three daughters. Within a three-year period, the middle child, Jeanette, and the eldest, Roxanne, both married, but during this period, the family underwent several dramatic changes. Marcella expressed the nature of these social transformations in the mode for which she is noted – food. Jeaneette, the first to marry, had an Italian wedding at which only Italian foods were served. Three years later, Roxanne was married. Her formal dinner featured "English" foods.

Superficially, the weddings seem to have had different meanings. One might even interpret the difference between the two events as signifying the loss of ethnic identity. One might assume that Marcella and her family had somehow relinquished the values of their parents in favor of "American" culture. At the first wedding, the meal and the presentation of the food were "traditional." Three years later, the Italian fare seemed to have been rejected and replaced by an American menu and a standardized caterer's format. However, according to Theophano, a closer look suggests a different interpretation.

Marcella's first daughter, Jeanette, married a non-Italian man. She was then eighteen years old. She chose a young man who was regarded as "irresponsible." According to Theophano's interpretation, not only did Marcella's family feel threatened by the intrusion of a "stranger," but her family's relationship to its group and the group's values were threatened as well. By selecting Italian foods in a situation of potential embarrassment and vulnerability, Marcella was affirming the very values which were threatened. Her refusal to permit anything "English" to be used in the celebration of her daugher's wedding was an attempt to reject not only the male who was violating her family's honor and boundaries, but the culture with which he was identified.

During the engagement period of Roxanne and her fiancé, Jeannette's marriage had ended, and Marcella ended her twenty-five-year marriage to her husband, Pat. Marcella became financially responsible for her family, and Jeanette's situation increased the family's economic stress. Nevertheless, Marcella decided that her eldest daughter would have an elegant wedding; every aspect of it would be the best it could be. Marcella's choice of the prestigious and normative "sit-down dinner" at an elegant location outside of the home was an acknowledgment that her eldest daughter had married with her approval and married well. Her choice of an expensive and elaborate meal, though "English," was not an expression of distance from Italian culture, but a statement of her independence and pride. In conforming to the standard format of such occasions, and in choosing the finest meal available, she showed the community that she could and would continue to care for herself and her family without any support from her husband.

As Theophano did in her study, I also paid attention to how my subjects expressed their ethnic identities by their weddings, particularly when responding to personal and social problems. I believed that different responses to social, political, religious or economic pressures would result in different forms of ethnic expression. I also tried to identify ethnic symbols, such as the foods in Theophano's essay, which reflect an individual's desire to communicate something about his or her heritage and identity.

Lipson-Walker's "Weddings among Jews in the Post-World-War-II American South" (1991) was another useful source, which taught me how ethnic groups create a sense of community as well as new traditions in their celebrations.

Before World War II, Jewish weddings in the American South were quite different than they are today. Most Jewish weddings were performed in the bride's home. Only in the last thirty years has the Jewish wedding in the American South been transformed from a private into a public ceremony replete with the features that it has acquired during the past two decades. These changes reflect the special circumstances of Jewish life in the American South and the dispersed community in which southern Jews live.

Because the American South is vast area, and a large number of people there are not Jews, these Jews are not a cohesive "community" in the traditional sense of a small ethnic group. Because of the difficulties of reinforcing networks of Jewish relationships in the South, a variety of institutions, organizations, publications, and traditions have developed to support this extended ethnic community. The Jewish wedding is one of the more dramatic and elaborate of these culturally reinforcing institutions and is itself affected by the Jews' widespread community.

Elaborate Jewish weddings in the American South differ from other American Jewish weddings in their relative lack of Jewish traditions and in the extra-ceremonial events preceding and following the weddings. In contrast to other American Jewish wedding celebrations, which consist of one-day celebrations, southern Jewish weddings typically include a series of lunch, brunch, dinner, or cocktail parties beginning sometimes as early as Monday or Tuesday, most often at least by Friday, and continuing after the Saturday night or Sunday nuptials. The large number of events results in another Jewish wedding custom in the American South. Programs listing activities before and after the wedding are printed and often mailed in advance to wedding guests. These programs may contain maps directing guests to their lodgings or to locations for various activities. In contrast to other American Jews, Jews in the American South characteristically reserve a block or wing of hotel or motel rooms for wedding guests, provide fruit baskets in their guests' rooms, offer a hospitality suite, and have elaborate rehearsal dinners with skits.

Lipson-Walker shows how Jews in the American South create a sense of community. Unable to rely on the religious and communal resources of the large Jewish communities found in northern cities, these Jews expand their notion of "community" to include the South in its entirety. The wedding, in particular, is a telescoped representation of the extensive symbolic links forged by Jews in the South. Marked by ostentation, hospitality, and festivity, the wedding expresses the participants' desire to create a closed set of social arrangements that will encourage marriages within the Jewish community. A new tradition of celebration is thus born out of the confluence of region and religion.

Influenced by Lipson-Walker's study, I paid attention to the interaction between the local Canadian culture and Ukrainian ethnic culture in/near the Edmonton area and attempted to find any syncretism arising from the blending of two or more cultures, resulting in innovations in wedding rituals. Also, I focused on how the community ties, institutions, and organizations affect Ukrainian Canadian weddings. Like the Jews in the American South, any minority ethnic group (including Ukrainian Canadians) which is aware that it needs to make contact and preserve contact with the group's members throughout a region can create elaborate and dramatic wedding rituals and events to help foster a shared sense of ethnic identity among a wedding's participants.

1.5.2 Ukrainian Weddings

To introduce this study, it is first necessary to discuss what the "traditional" Ukrainian wedding is because the contemporary Ukrainian Canadian wedding partially originates in the Ukrainian 19th- and early 20th-century wedding traditions that the early immigrants brought to Canada. Furthermore, it is also necessary to review the wedding customs of Ukrainian Canadians before 1970s, in order to understand the contemporary Ukrainian Canadian wedding as the result of its evolution from the early immigration period. However, the main purpose of this study is not to compile and analyze the old Ukrainian wedding traditions, but to introduce the pattern (or structure) of Ukrainian wedding rituals in two time periods: the 19th century and the 20th century before 1970.

The Ukrainian wedding pattern of the 19th and early 20th century

Ukrainian weddings during the 19th and early 20th century have been described in various ethnographic works. A composite description of the Ukrainian wedding was often produced according to a particular classification system. Some ethnographers divided the Ukrainian wedding into three parts while others divided it into four or more parts, listing the traits for each part. Vovk (1995;original work published in 1916) and Shcherbakivs'kyi (1952-1953) broke down the Ukrainian wedding into the *svatannia* (the ceremony of match-making), *zaruchyny* (engagement ceremony), and *vesillia* (traditional wedding), while Zdoroveha (1974) divided the wedding into the pre-wedding period, the actual wedding, and the post-wedding period. No matter which classification was used, a more specific analysis of each sequential segment was provided in subdivisions. For example, the pre-wedding period was subdivided into three major rites, *dopyty* (the ceremony of inquiries), *svatannia*, and *zaruchyny*.

Ukrainian wedding rituals have many local versions, and the ritual performance differs significantly from region to region. Ukrainian territory can be divided into several regions in various ways. Borysenko (1988) divided Ukrainian weddings geographically into four groups: the weddings of Central Ukraine, the Polissia region, the Carpathian region, and Southern Ukraine. She compared the wedding traits in these four areas and indicated the differences, pointing out the distinguishing features of the local variants.[1] In terms of Ukraine's administrative units, Maruschak (1985) compared the Ukrainian wedding traits in 13 of Ukraine's administrative units.[2] She divided the Ukrainian wedding into four parts (the preliminary pre-wedding ceremonies, the preparatory phase, the wedding day, and the post-wedding ceremonies) and listed thirty-four basic ritual elements with three hundred and six ritual traits. Table 1 shows the thirty-four ritual elements that are the sum of all regional ritual elements.

Table 1: The 34 Main Ritual Elements of Traditional Weddings in Ukraine

The Preliminary Pre-wedding Ceremonies

1. *Dopyty* (ceremony of inquiries)
2. *Svatannia* (ceremony of match-making)
3. *Ohliadyny* (inspection of the groom's and his family's assets)
4. *Zmovyny* (event at which various details concerning the wedding are finalized)
5. *Zaruchyny* (engagement ceremony)

The Preparatory Phase

6. First day of the preparatory phase
7. Making of the *korovai* (wedding bread)
8. Other wedding bread
9. *Zaprosyny* (invitation of the wedding guests)
10. Ceremony of the *posad* (a transition ceremony; also refers to the actual spot, the corner of honor, where the bride and groom sit together)
11. *Hil'tse* ceremony (ceremony of making the wedding tree)
12. *Divych vechir* (maiden's evening)
13. *Vinkopletennia* (wreath-weaving)
14. Couple exchange gifts
15. Final events of the preparatory phase

The Wedding Day

16. Preparations at the bride's home prior to the church service
17. Preparations at the groom's home prior to the church service
18. Couple's blessing and *proshchi* (forgiveness rite)
19. Wedding procession to the church
20. Ecclesiastical Service – superstitions
21. Groom's wedding procession to the bride's house
22. Arrival of the groom and his wedding party at the bride's home
23. Bride's mother's greeting
24. Unification rite
25. Sale of the bride
26. Distribution of the gifts
27. Distribution of the *korovai*
28. Incorporation of the bride into the fellowship of married women
29. Prior to the couple's departure
30. Preparations for the couple's departure
31. Arrival at the groom's home
32. Wedding night

The Post-Wedding Phase

33. Second wedding day
34. Final wedding days

Of the weddings in the thirteen administrative units, special attention must be paid to those in the Bukovyna and Galicia regions because the first massive wave of immigrants to Canada came from these two regions of Ukraine. In order to learn the pattern of the wedding rituals in these two regions, I relied on Shubravs'ka (1970), who provided descriptive studies of the weddings in the two areas.

In this study, I also paid attention to the wedding rituals' basic structure, which was pervasive throughout the whole of Ukraine. In spite of the regional differences in wedding traditions, according to Borysenko (1988), some elements were common to weddings throughout all of Ukraine (p. 86):

1. Pre-wedding rituals whose purpose was to match the bride and groom (*svatannia*, *zaruchyny*, *ohliadyny*)
2. The preparation of the special wedding bread.
3. *Divych vechir* prior to the wedding, which signaled the bride's new marital status.

4.1 *Shliub* (The wedding ceremony or ecclesiastical service)

4.2 The ritual of *Posad molodykh* (the couple's sitting together in the holy corner), which included the distribution of *korovai* and the exchange of gifts between the two families

5. The covering of the bride's head and her moving to her husband's house.
6. The reception in the groom's house.
7. Post-wedding rituals.
8. Rituals of purification following the first night.
    a. The bathing of the newlyweds
    b. The performance of lighting the stove and bringing water

In this present study, I attempted to identify these "traditional" Ukrainian wedding elements in Ukrainian Canadian weddings and to determine their basic structure.

The Ukrainian Canadian wedding before the 1970s

Ukrainian Canadian weddings are syntheses of traditions and rituals from the ancestral homeland and the new environment. Earlier traditions were adapted in the creation of new, modified practices. Once an initial Ukrainian-Canadian structure was established, it continued to change throughout the last century. The history of the Ukrainian Canadian wedding can be divided into two time periods: before and after 1945.

Surprisingly, few systematic ethnographic studies on Ukrainian Canadian weddings of this first period have been published. In many cases, Ukrainian wedding customs were partially described in discussion of other issues. Swyripa discussed a number of sources related to Ukrainian Canadian weddings from a historian's perspective by using wedding records as a research resource.[3] According to Swyripa (1993), marriage was an area where the Canadian environment had a significant impact on and joined forces with the imperatives of the Ukrainian community to affect both attitudes and practices (p. 79). The issues that would dominate discussions about Ukrainian Canadian marriages had all been raised by 1910. For example, it has been claimed that for twenty-five or thirty dollars, Ukrainian immigrants routinely "sold" their thirteen- and fourteen-year-old daughters into marriage (p. 80).[4] According to Swyripa, one author claimed that the problem arose from the misunderstanding of an important wedding ritual in which the groom displayed his affluence by presenting the bride's parents with a gift of money. Before 1945, Anglo-Canadians often associated Ukrainian marriage with the image of the 'child bride.' However, the average age of marriage for brides ranged from 17.3 to 18.5 years old while fourteen-year-old brides were a rarity, and seldom did one-third of the brides in any year marry at age sixteen or younger. However, Anglo-Canadians thought that Ukrainian girls in the block settlements of western Canada married too young. Swyripa (1993) assumed that this perception reflected the peculiar emigrant/immigrant experience of Ukrainian homesteaders in the Prairie provinces. According to her, in prewar Galicia, fewer than one-third of Ukrainian brides were under twenty years of age.

Alberta reported roughly the same fraction of brides marrying under twenty in this period, and in the Anglo-American and Scandinavian areas of the province, comparatively prosperous and with different cultural backgrounds, the age of marriage for both brides and grooms was significantly higher than in the Vegreville bloc. Other findings warn against generalization even in relation to Ukrainian settlements. Swyripa assumed that decisions on marriage were influenced by local variables like the time of settlement, the quality of land, and opportunities for agricultural expansion or employment. In the early 1920s, a rapid and permanent drop in the proportion of Ukrainian Canadian brides who were sixteen or younger, from 30. 0 to 4.8 per cent, increased the seventeen-to-nineteen age group in particular. By the end of the Second World War, half to three-quarters of Ukrainian Canadian brides were in their twenties (pp. 87-88).

Swyripa (1993) also introduced evidence suggesting that the pragmatic needs of a modernizing peasant society in an emigration/immigration situation influenced Ukrainian marriage practices. The 'Bride Wanted' advertisements appearing in *Kanadiiskyi farmer* (Canadian farmer) between 1906 and 1920 represented one response of bachelors deprived of a traditional source of potential wives in a novel and unnatural situation, particularly for men who lived away from the bloc settlements (pp. 81-82).

Swyripa's (1993) work also indicated the marriage patterns of the early Ukrainian immigrants. She explained that despite the tendency of kin and villagers to settle in identifiable pockets, emigration offered new choices in marriage partners and a new gene pool:

> In 1908 only 13 per cent of contracting parties came from the same village; fully one-half of all marriages over the next three years involved people who came out only from different villages but also from different districts in Galicia; and by 1920, when forty of sixty-nine marriages involved partners who were both Galician born, 72.5 per cent of contracting parties came from different districts. Marriage entries also support the contention that circumstances encouraged speedy engagements, unions that stressed economic considerations ahead of love, speedy remarriage on the death of a spouse, and young brides. One young widower, for example, initiated proceedings to marry presumably his first choice in mid February but, later in the month, settled on his dead wife's seventeen year old sister. (p. 84)

According to the traditional Ukrainian wedding customs, weddings were usually set in two favoured time periods; weddings were not performed during the two great fasting periods before Easter and Christmas, so that most weddings were in November, after harvest, and in the winter months, before Lent and spring planting. This tradition has been preserved, but the mainstream idea of a June wedding became pervasive among Ukrainians by 1945. Also by 1945, the Sunday wedding tradition became irrelevant and replaced by Saturday weddings, influenced by the rhythm of the urban workweek:

> In 1915 half of all weddings occurred in November, January, and February. By 1945 less than a third did so; and the summer months (June-August), perhaps reflecting adoption of the mainstream idea of the 'June bride', became the preferred season for nuptials. By 1945 weddings had also shifted from a majority on Sunday, traditionally chosen because the peasant was free from labour for the

> landlord, to Saturday, the off-day in North American urban industrialized society. Sunday weddings were unusual among the Ukrainians' Anglo-Canadian neighbours; in thirty-nine years, only nine of 347 marriages solemnized by ministers of the Vegreville United (Methodist) Church took place on that day. Wednesdays and Fridays, fasting days in the Greek Catholic calendar, were more popular. To farmers who ordered their lives around the natural cycles of the seasons, the rhythm of an urban work week was long irrelevant, and Saturday waited until the 1990s to triumph as the unrivalled day on which to celebrate weddings in the Vegreville bloc. (Swyripa, 1993, pp. 85-86)

With few exceptions, the Ukrainian Catholic bride in east-central Alberta in 1945 married within her group, and in the great majority of cases, she married within her faith. Nationwide, some three-quarters of Ukrainian-Canadian women still belonged to the Ukrainian Catholic or Orthodox Churches; over 90 percent still spoke Ukrainian as their mother tongue, and, despite a significant decline in religious endogamy, some two-thirds still married Ukrainian Catholic or Orthodox husbands. Most adult Ukrainian women who had received a formal education delayed marriage, and exposure to 'civilization' through the school and workplace remained the norm for the Ukrainian-speaking, church-going wives of Ukrainian farmers.

While Swyripa's (1993) work explained the marriage patterns of Ukrainians, Nahachewsky (1983) and Procyshyn (1983) provided valuable descriptions of Ukrainian Canadian wedding rituals in the early 20th century.[5] These two authors described two actual weddings in Swan Plain, Saskachewan in 1920, and Winnipegosis, Manitoba in 1931, respectively. Nahachewsky compared his grandfather's wedding with Kuzela's

(1961) general description of traditional weddings. Nahachewsky listed 20 wedding traits under six broad categories: Commencement [*dopyty*, *svatannia*, *uhovoryny* (agreement), *rozhliadyny* (inspection of the grooom's family's assets)], Preparations [licence, *vino* (dowry), *zaprosyny* (invitation of wedding guests)], *Vinkopletennia* [*vinok* (wreath), *derevtse* (wedding tree), *vykup vinochka* i *buketiv* (buying of the bride's wreath and bouquets), *vyhuliannia* (dancing with the bride), *uberannia* (dressing of the bride), *blahoslovennia* (blessing)], Church marriage [*pokhid* (wedding procession), *shliub*, bride and groom each go home, *vesillia u molodoii*], abduction [*poizd* (wedding train), *svashky*'s (middle-aged women who participates in various wedding rituals) singing, *darovannia* (presentation of gifts)], and Groom's *vesillia* [*vesillia u molodoho*]. The author then analyzed the wedding elements in terms of the influence of four factors: (1) the momentum of tradition and the ideal form, (2) the personalities of the various individuals and their own desires and decisions, (3) incidental circumstances, and (4) the Canadian context. Despite some differences, the Swan Plain wedding followed the basic structure of a traditional wedding. In terms of this present study, this wedding had two interesting features. Firstly, the wedding preserved remnants of the so-called preparation or commencement rituals, such as *dopyty*, *svatannia*, *uhovoryny*, and *rozhliadyny,* which have now all disappeared. Secondly, Nahachewsky did not mention that the Swan Plain wedding included a *korovai*. According to Nahachewsky, the Swan Plain wedding was similar to the description of Galician weddings in Shubravs'ka's *Vesillia v dvokh tomakh*. Neither the Lolyn nor the Orel'tse accounts of Galician weddings include a *korovai*. However, Nahachewsky also mentioned that a particular trait might be omitted from the description of a wedding because a researcher or informant regarded it as insignificant.

Procyshyn (1983) compared three weddings that had occurred in three different years and places: 1936 (Ukraine), 1931 (Winnipegosis, Manitoba), and 1962 (Petlura, Manitoba). The second one provides a good example of the Ukrainian Canadian wedding before 1945. The author divided this wedding into four parts and explained the wedding traits of each part: Courtship and Engagement (the ritual of matchmaking), Preparation for the wedding (the invitation ritual,[6] the selection of wedding attendants,[7] the wreath-weaving ceremony,[8] the wedding tree, *korovai* and three *kolach* (ritual bread)), Wedding Day (the blessing, the couple's procession to the church,[9] walking down the aisle together, kneeling on the white embroidered towel),[10] and the Reception (party at the bride's home, the bride's moving to the groom's home,[11] welcoming the bride, party at the groom's home, *vevat* play, *darovannia*[12]).[13] Even though this Winnipeg wedding occurred 10 years after the Swan Plain wedding, it still included many traditional wedding traits, following the basic structure of the old wedding tradition. However, the Winnipegosis wedding also indicated the new influence of the wedding industry. The bride and groom ordered bouquets and corsages from Eaton's catalogue. The groom wore a dark suit, and the bride wore a veil and white wedding gown. Both outfits had been ordered through the catalogue.

Klymasz (1980) discussed the Ukrainian Canadian wedding after 1945. His study indicates that even though some older traditions are no longer followed in today's weddings, the Ukrainian Canadian wedding today survives as a kind of maintenance mechanism promoting a sense of ethnicity and strengthening ethnic distinctiveness among Ukrainian Canadians:

> It is true, of course, that, compared with the intricate, Old Country wedding ritual complex, the Ukrainian wedding has lost most of its traditional trappings, which over the years have been reduced to the essential components: food and drink, "presentation," and music. This process of reduction, however, has been accompanied with that amplification or, as it were, hyperbolization, which in the case of the Ukrainian wedding is especially evident in the use of instrumental music as an ever-present continuum from beginning to end, linking all the varied elements, dispersed activities and the participants into one whole acoustic phenomenon. Basically, then, the Ukrainian wedding can be considered as an auditory event capable of promoting the production of a certain psychological state which its participants generally refer to as "a great time!" (pp. 87-88)

Numerous undergraduate and graduate students have studied the Ukrainian Canadian wedding between 1945 and 1980, and their research articles are now deposited in the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archive at the University of Alberta.[14] In one of those articles, Hanchuk (1985) provided a detailed description of a Ukrainian Canadian wedding in 1960. Hanchuk divided this wedding into three parts: the preparations for the wedding, the wedding proper, and the post-wedding activities. She listed the "phenomena" (or ritual traits) that are included in the traditional Ukrainian wedding and looked for those traits in the Ukrainian-Canadian wedding. She concluded that her informant's wedding included an equal number of Ukrainian and Canadian traditions. Some elements such as dress and the roles of the wedding attendants had changed drastically while the food, music and customs such as the *perepii* (ceremony with a toast) had been preserved and retained in close to their original forms with no or few notable changes. Even though the informant believed that she had had a traditional Ukrainian wedding, her wedding included several major changes of the traditional wedding. These changes became standard in the Ukrainian Canadian weddings of the next generation. First, the bride was thirty-five when she married. The average age for marriage had risen by 1960. Second, her wedding was held on a Saturday. According to the informant, Saturday was the most popular day for a wedding because people did not have to work on this day. Third, she said that summer weddings were by far the most popular because the weather at this time of year is warm. Fourth, the ritual of inviting guests in person to the wedding was not practiced any more. Specially printed wedding invitations were distributed by mail to family and friends. Fifth, new rituals such as the bridal shower were organized by the participants. Sixth, the tradition of re-braiding the bride's hair was not followed in this Ukrainian-Canadian wedding. Instead, the bride's hair was curled and cut short. Seventh, a photographer was hired to photograph the wedding. After the church service, the bride, groom, their parents, and the attendants left by car to go to take photographs. Eighth, the non-Ukrainian customs of tossing the wedding garter and bouqet were incorporated into this wedding. Ninth, the informant had a wedding cake, and also a *korovai*. At this wedding, the *korovai* was cut into pieces and eaten at the home of the bride on the day after the wedding. As Hanchuk mentioned, this wedding was not traditional and shared many new traits in common with the contemporary Canadian wedding.

The Ukrainian Canadian wedding during the last 15 years

Many studies including students' essays and M.A. theses at the University of Alberta have focused on the Ukrainian Canadian wedding of this period.[15] Some of these studies discussed the issue of continuity and change in the Ukrainian wedding tradition while others focused on specific objects or rituals, such as the *korovai*, wedding costumes, *vinkopletennia*, *divych vechir* or mock wedding. Ukrainian-Canadian weddings vary from region to region and from rural to urban settings across Canada. Some of these differences result from the Ukrainians' specific immigration patterns. Others have arisen from ethnic, economic, social, geographic, and other factors which vary from place to place within Canada. Onyshkevych (1999) provided a good introduction to the different Ukrainian wedding customs in North America, especially in the New York area.

1.6 The organization of this study

Chapter 2 provides information at the macro level, explaining the social structure within which Ukrainian weddings are performed in Edmonton. This chapter consists of three parts: (1) Statistical data on Ukrainian descendants in Edmonton and (2) Marriage patterns of Ukrainian Canadians between 1981 and 2001, and (3) The wedding industry and ethnic weddings.

Chapter 3 provides a description of the traditional elements of contemporary Ukrainian weddings in the Edmonton area. This chapter discusses the pattern of Ukrainian Canadian weddings and describes the wedding rituals from the perspective of my informants.

Chapter 4 is divided into three parts, focusing on ritual. In the first part I discuss the Ukrainian symbols that Ukrainian Canadians incorporate into their wedding rituals and also discusses why and how these symbols are chosen. In the second part I discuss tradition and creativity, explaining how Ukrainian Canadians adapt tradition to new settings and create new forms of tradition. In the third section I describe four different types of wedding rituals by which the bride and groom as well as their families or communities express their sense of identification with their ethnicity.

In Chapter 5, I discuss the role of cultural and religious organizations in the symbolic creation of the Ukrainian community. In the first part, I compare the matrimonial rites of four Ukrainian ethnic churches and explain that the composite elements of the matrimonial rite of each church differ because the way of expressing identity and ethnicity differs slightly in each church. In the second part I explain the role of Shumka and the Ukrainian Male Chorus as examples of Ukrainian cultural organizations that participate in the creation of Ukrainian symbols and rituals as well as the preservation of Ukrainian traditions.

Chapter 6 contains a discussion of Ukrainian Canadians' ethnic identity. In this chapter I focus on ethnicity as a changeable phenomenon and as the result of a process of negotiation between the Ukrainian ethnic group and the dominant culture, and between the Ukrainian group and other ethnic groups. In the first part, I discuss the relationship between ethnic (single and multiple) origin and ethnic identification. Some examples indicate that single-origin ethnic couples sometimes show a low ethnic identification while multiple ethnic couples can have a high ethnic identification. I explain that an increase of interethnic marriages or a growth in the multiple-origin population does not always mean the loss of ethnic identification. The second part of this chapter explains how Ukrainian Canadians recreate themselves and how they continuously reinterpret or reinvent their ethnicities in response to changing realities within both their group and the mainstream society. Finally in the third part, I introduce the term "code-switching" to explain that Canadian and Ukrainian identities are not contradictory but complementary for Ukrainian Canadians.

Notes

[1] In *Vesil'ni zvychai ta obriady na ukraini,* Borysenko (1988) claimed that Central Ukraine had preserved an ancient custom, the unveiling of the bride's scarf as well as "ity na kury" (going for a hen), which was a ritual usually performed on Tuesday following the wedding. The bride's family visited the groom's family, bringing with them a cooked hen. Also, Borysenko discussed the masked theatrical performance as a typical ritual in this region. In Polissia, the mother-in-law greeted the bride and groom with bread and honey, whereas in the other parts of Ukraine, the newlyweds were welcomed with bread and salt. In the Carpathian region, the purification rituals after the wedding were distinctive. These included the ritual bathing (cleansing and purification) of the bride and the groom in a river. The most characteristic feature of the wedding rituals in Southern Ukraine was the mixture of diverse ethnic traditions as a result of the long periods of colonization and migration.

[2] Those thirteen administration units are Podilia, Poltava, Chernihiv, Kharkiv, Bukovyna, Kherson, Kyiv, Volhynia, Horodno, Kholm, Transcarpathia, Galicia, and Minsk.

[3] She discussed Ukrainian weddings in *Wedded to the Cause: Ukrainian-Canadian Women and Ethnic Identity 1891-1991* (1993) and *From sheepskin to blue jeans: A brief history of Ukrainians in Canada.* (1991). In R. B. Klymasz, R. B. (Ed.), *Art and Ethnicity: The Ukrainian Tradition in Canada.* Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

[4] This was the claim of a Mrs. Chisholm, addressing the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Hamilton, Ontario, reported in *Kanadiiskyi farmer* in late 1905.

[5] These materials are deposited in the Ukrainian Folklore Archives at the University of Alberta.

[6] The bride and bridesmaids were driven around by horse and sleigh to the homes of everyone in the area. In each home, the bride bowed her head three times and said, "My father invites you and my mother invites you and I invite you to my wedding." The groom did the same in his area. About 50 to 70 neighbors and friends were asked to each wedding.

[7] The matron of honour was the bride's cousin, and the best man was a friend of the groom's.

[8] The ritual was performed a week before the wedding at the bride's home. The author did not use the term "*vinkopletennia*" in the article. During the wreath-weaving ceremony, the bride's "*titka*" [aunt] did the weaving, but the bridesmaids and all the women in the district attended. The wreath was made out of myrtle while the bride sat on a pillow. The wreath was placed on the bride's head. All the women unplaited the bride's hair, combed it and sang songs. When the wreath was finished, the groom had to bid money to buy it, while the bridesmaids tried to drive a hard bargain.

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[9] The groom came to pick the bride up with his team of horses, and they both rode to the church together with the bride's two attendants.

[10] Hardly anyone from either family came to the church service, for each family had too many things to do before the guests arrived.

[11] Music and clapping took place, as they were welcomed into the new reception at the groom's home. Joking and merriment took place. When the bride and groom arrived at the groom's home, people hid the bride from the groom's parents and instead, dressed up an old man like a woman. The in-laws said that they did not want the bride as she was too ugly and the bride's parents kept insisting that their daughter was beautiful and that the old woman was somebody else. There was joking and singing all this time. Finally, the true bride is allowed to come forth. She knees before her new parents and is then invited to come into the home.

[12] The presentation took place before midnight. A dish was put out for presentation, and people gave change and dollar bills. Some gave small gift towels, cups and dishes. The bride and groom received seventy dollars in cash.

[13] The groom brought the bride and her attendants to the bride's home from the church, and they stayed at the reception in the bride's home until morning. Then they went to the groom's wedding for the whole day. When the bride arrived at the groom's home, the musicians came outside to play for them as they were coming into the house. They had to bow their heads and shake hands with everyone present. They were then led to the main place of honor at the table. Some of the foods served at the party were chicken soup, boiled chicken meat, pork, meatballs, cabbage rolls, cider, homebrew and home-made beer.

[14] About six articles deal with Ukrainian Canadian weddings of this period: (1) Hanchuk, Rena. (1985) The not so traditional traditional Ukrainian wedding: A study. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 29 pp. (1985.004), (2) Korec. William. (1988). Ukrainian-Canadian weddings (1965-1988). Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 51 pp. (1988.004), (3) Kostyriuk, Katherine. (2000). Ukrainian Wedding Traditions. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 17 pp. (2000.145), (4) Kryschuk, Anna-Marie. (1977) *vinkopletennnia z Horodyns'koho povitu.* Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 6pp. (1977.001), (5) Procyshyn, Mary. (1983). A comparative study of three Ukrainian weddings. Unpublished manuscript. University of Manitoba. 17 pp. (1983.046), (6) Sokoluk, Lisa. (1988). Women and their weddings: definition by context. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta , 11pp. (1988.003).

[15] Boychuk, V. (1994). Porivnial'ne doslidzhennia dvokh ukrains'kykh vesil'. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 14 pp., Cherwick, B. (1990). The Ukrainian Wedding: The effect of membership in Ukrainian cultural organizations on retention of Ukrainian wedding traditions. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 20 pp., Foty, N. (2000) Canadian *Vinkopletennia*. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 18 pp., Gaborak, C (1998). Wedding Dress. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 8pp., Garbera, W. (1986). Ukrainian mixed marriages. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 15 pp., Jabora, k, Christina. (1988). Wedding Dress. Unpublished manuscript. University of Alberta. 8pp. Martiuk, A. (1988). Divych Vechir or Vinkopletennia. Unpublished manuscript. University

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Chapter 2: Background to the Study

In this chapter, I will discuss the social context of the community in which this study was conducted, explaining how many Ukrainians have lived in Edmonton, what their marriage patterns have been. I will also provide information about the wedding industry in Edmonton, which plays an important role in creating the dominant mainstream Canadian wedding culture.

2.1 Ukrainian Canadians' statistical data

Canada has grown through immigration by people of different ethnic origins, including Ukrainian immigrants, who have played a significant role in Canada's population growth. Ukrainians have immigrated in four major waves to Canada. The first wave occurred between 1891 and 1914 when around 140,000 Ukrainians immigrated to Canada from the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The second wave occurred in the 1920s after the Canadian Immigration Act had been amended in 1923 to permit nationals from former enemy countries to immigrate. The third wave was caused by the Second World War when Ukrainians from refugee camps in Austria and West Germany came to Canada (Swyripa, 1984, p. 342). Recently, about 18-20,000 new Ukrainian immigrants came to Canada during the so-called 'fourth wave,' which has been happening from 1991 to the present time (Isajiw, 2001). Ukrainians have been immigrating to Canada for more than a century, and the residents of Ukrainian (single and multiple) origin formed around 4% of the Canadian population in 2001.

The total population of Ukrainian ethnic origin gradually increased to 1,054,300 by 1991, slightly decreasing to 1,036,470 between 1991 and 1996, and then increasing again until it reached 1,071,055 in 2001. At the provincial level, during the last ten years, the

Ukrainian ethnic population has increased in Alberta, British Columbia, and Ontario while it has decreased in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. (see Table 2). Ontario has been the province with the largest number of Ukrainian Canadians, and Alberta has had the second-largest number.

Table 2: Population of Canadians of Ukrainian ethnic origin in Canada and five provinces between 1981 and 2001 (based on 20% sample data)

Year	Ukrainian Ethnic Origin		
	Single origin	Multiple origin	Total
Canada			
2001	326,200	744,866	1,071,055
1996	331,680	694,790	1,026,470
1991	410,410	643,890	
1986	420,210	541,100	
1981	529,615	225,360	
Alberta			
2001	88,355	197,370	285,725
1996	85,475	173,440	
1991	105,260	160,965	
1986	106,760	132,210	
1981	136,710	53,075	
British Columbia			
2001	40,785	138,095	178,880
1996	40,650	128,120	
1991	53,015	124,905	
1981	48,200	95,145	
1986	63,605	41,215	
Manitoba			
2001	54,925	102,730	157,655
1996	58,585	101,150	
1991	74,625	91,325	
1986	79,940	78,385	
1981	99,795	30,490	
Ontario			
2001	90,060	200,865	290.925
1996	90,230	186,725	
1991	106,855	168,585	
1986	109,705	150,875	
1981	134,000	69,040	
Saskatchewan			
2001	40,715	81,030	121,735
1996	45,150	80,245	
1991	56,305	74,800	
1986	60,555	65,220	
1981	76,810	23,280	

(Source: Kordan (2000) and 2001 Canada census)

Table 3 indicates that Edmonton, Winnipeg, and Toronto have been the three metropolitan areas that have had the largest Ukrainian populations during the last thirty years. In 1981, Edmonton replaced Winnipeg as the Canadian city with the largest population of Ukrainian ethnic origin, and the number of Ukrainian Canadians in Edmonton increased from 84,565 in 1981 to 126,720 in 2001 (Myhal, 1988, p. 9).

Table 3: Ukrainian population (single-and multiple-origin) in 1981 and 2001

Centre	1981			2001		
	Single	Multiple	Total	Single	Multiple	Total
Edmonton	63,120	21,445	84,565	44,680	81,040	125,720
Winnipeg	58,970	20,380	79,350	34,325	68,310	102,635
Toronto	50,705	21,025	71,730	40,705	63,785	104,490

(Source: adapted from Darcovich (1988) and 2001 Canada census)

In contrast to the growing number of people of Ukrainian ethnic origin in Canada, the Ukrainian Canadian community has experienced a gradual decrease in the number of Ukrainians of single ethnic origin. Not only Ukrainians, but also other European ethnic groups have intermixed considerably through marriages with persons of different ethnic origins. In the 1981 Canadian census, the definition of "ethnicity" was widened to include male and female ancestors. This change also allowed respondents to identify themselves as belonging to one (single) or two or more (multiple) ethnic groups. According to Table Two, during each census year, the population of Ukrainians of multiple origins gradually increased. The sharp increase between 1981 and later census figures likely result from an actual increase in people of multiple origins, plus a higher proportion of declaration. By 1986, the number of people reporting multiple origins was greater than the single-origin population. In 2001, Ukrainians of multiple origin formed around 70 % of the total population of people of Ukrainian origin in Canada, making up 69% and 64% of the total Ukrainian population in Alberta and Edmonton, respectively (see Tables 2 and 3).

Table 4: Ethnic Groups (Single and Multiple) between 1996 and 2001 in Canada

	1996			2001		
	Single	Multiple (%)	Total	Single	Multiple (%)	Total
Chinese	800,475	121,110 (13)	921,585	936,210	158,490 (14)	1,094,700
Filipino	198,420	44,460 (18)	242,280	266,140	61,405 (19)	327,550
Vietnamese	110,390	26,415 (19)	136,805	119,120	32,290 (21)	151,410
East Indian	438,770	109,315 (20)	548,085	581,605	131,665 (18)	713,330
Portuguese	252,640	82,475 (25)	335,110	252,835	104,805 (29)	357,690
Greek	144,940	58,405 (29)	203,345	143,785	71,325 (33)	215,105
Lebanese	87,670	43,710 (33)	131,385	93,895	49,740 (35)	143,635
Italian	729,450	478,025 (40)	1,207,475	726,225	544,090 (43)	1,270,370
Jewish	195,810	155,895 (44)	351,705	186,475	162,130 (47)	348,605
Dutch	313,880	602,335 (65)	916,220	316,220	617,090 (67)	923,310
Polish	265,935	520,805 (66)	786,735	260,465	556,665 (68)	817,085
Ukrainian	331,680	694,790 (68)	1,026,470	326,200	744,866 (70)	1,071,055
German	726,145	2,030,995 (73)	2,757,140	705,600	2,037,170 (74)	2,742,765
Belgian	31,375	92,225 (75)	123,595	30,195	99,585 (77)	129,780
Russian	46,880	225,405 (83)	272,375	70,895	267,070 (79)	337,960

(Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada, 1996 and 2001)

According to Table 4, unlike the German, Dutch, Spanish and Ukrainian ethnic groups, the Italian, Portuguese and Greek immigrants and their offspring have had less people declare they were of multiple ethnic origin than of single ethnic origin. The non-European groups have the lowest numbers of declarations of multiple ethnic origins, thus implying stronger ethnic endogamy among the members of such communities.

The proportions of Ukrainian Canadians of single and multiple ethnic origins reflect the proportions of endogamy and exogamy in this group. Some scholars have used the proportions of ethnically endogamous and exogamous marriages as indicators of acculturation and assimilation (Kalbach & Richard, 1989) and have tried to use these proportions to indicate the degree to which the minority ethnic groups are being integrated into Canadian society. It is interesting to note, as Table 5 reveals, that the English, Irish, and Scottish have the highest proportions of people reporting multiple origins. This finding is what might be expected, given the British historical cultural dominance in Canada, but how can we explain the high proportion of Ukrainians reporting multiple origins? Do these reports indicate the integration of people of Ukrainian origin into the mainstream Canadian culture? The statistical data may do so, but it would be inaccurate to view assimilation and integration as the only trends; processes that might culminate in the eventual absorption of the Ukrainian ethnic group into the larger culture and general population. Change is not occurring in only one direction.

Table 5: Top 10 ethnic groups in Edmonton, 2001

	Single responses	Multiple responses(1) (%)	Total - Single and multiple responses(1)
Total population	**488,165**	**438,855 (47)**	**927,020**
Canadian (2)	108,605	129,135 (54)	237,735
English	39,580	174,925 (81)	214,505
Scottish	18,385	146,280 (89)	164,665
German	40,980	123,445 (75)	164,420
Irish	13,125	126,905 (90)	140,030
Ukrainian	44,680	81,045 (64)	125,720
French	14,925	98,080 (78)	113,005
Polish	12,890	41,145 (76)	54,040
Chinese	37,270	7,175 (16)	44,445
Dutch (Netherlands)	13,900	27,220 (66)	41,120

(1) Respondents who reported multiple ethnic origins are counted more than once as they are included in the multiple responses for each origin they reported. For example, a respondent who reported "English and Scottish" would be included in the multiple responses for English and for Scottish.

(2) "Canadian" answer reflects ethnic identity while other answers reflect ethnic origin that is more related to ancestry.

(Source: 2001 Canada census)

The statistical data on the Ukrainian population in Canada also reflects the effects of urbanization. More of the early immigrants than the later ones were drawn to the rural areas. Those immigrants coming later, when Canada had become more industrialized, were more likely to settle in the towns and cities. Thus, more Ukrainians who immigrated in the first waves of immigration are still living in the rural areas compared to others who came to Canada later. In Table 6, the two founding groups, the British and French, as well as the more established populations of German and Ukrainian origins, are shown to exhibit the lowest propensities for settlement in the largest urban centers. However, all ethnic groups have been affected in one way or another by urbanization, and the Ukrainian ethnic group has not been an exception. In 1931, over 85 percent of all Ukrainians in Canada lived in the three Prairie provinces, where 79 percent of these Ukrainians were in rural areas. However, by 1971, only 57.8 percent resided on the Prairies, and only 25 percent of these Ukrainian Canadians were rural (Swyripa, 1984, p. 345). Some people of Ukrainian origin who have moved into cities still have connections with their parents or relatives in rural areas. Thus, it will be very interesting to investigate how urbanization has influenced the ethnic identity not only of those who moved into cities, but also of those who remained in rural areas. I will discuss this issue later.

Table 6: Percentage of Selected Ethnic-Origin Populations Residing in Urban and Rural areas; Canada, 1981

Ethnic origin	Urban				Rural
	500,000 and over	100,000-499,000	1,000-99,999	Total	Total
German	30.1	13.8	24.4	68.3	31.7
French	40.9	6.9	25.5	73.3	26.7
British	34.9	12.5	27.1	74.5	25.5
Ukrainian	44.3	11.9	19.9	76.1	23.9
Italian	74.4	10.9	9.6	94.9	5.1
Spanish	82.9	5.6	7.5	96.0	3.9
Indo-Pakistani	75.4	6.9	13.5	95.8	4.2
Chinese	82.2	7.0	8.8	98.0	2.0

(Extrapolated from Table 27 of Kalbach (1990))

Most early Ukrainian immigrants in Canada were either Greek Catholic or Greek Orthodox while a few were Baptists, Adventists and Roman Catholics. The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church has had various names. At first it was called the "Ruthenian Greek Catholic Church of Canada." In 1951, "Ruthenian" was officially changed to "Ukrainian," and "Greek" was omitted (Matiasz, 1995, p. 6). According to Richard (1991), in spite of the relatively high number of Ukrainian Catholic and Greek Orthodox immigrants, the Ukrainians were a rather heterogeneous group. In 1971, among those who were born outside Canada (foreign-born), 48 per cent were Ukrainian Catholic and another 29 percent were Greek Orthodox, totaling 77 percent. Among those who were born in Canada (native-born or Canadian-born), these two religious groups accounted for only 46 percent of the population. Sixteen percent reported that they were members of the United Church, and just over 16 percent reported that they were Roman Catholic (Richard, 1991, pp. 88-89). Richard's study shows that the French, Italian, and Polish populations were more homogeneous religiously than the German, Dutch, Scandinavian, and Ukrainian populations.

Table 7
Percentage distribution of religious denominations by ethnic origin and nativity, Canada, 1971

Ethnic origin and Nativity	Roman Catholic	Anglican	Lutheran	United Church	Presbyterian	Baptist	Ukrainian.Cath. Ukrainian Greek Orthodox	No Religion	Other	Total	
										%	No.
Ukrainian Foreign born	7.8	1.1	0.8	3.9	0.5	1.2	77.2	4.5	3.1	100	1,055
Canadian born	16.6	5.6	1.8	16.1	1.8	1.8	46.2	5.6	4.4	100	4,891

(Extrapolated from Richard, 1991, p. 87)

Table 8 identifies the affiliations and residences of Ukrainians in Alberta, distinguishing between urban and rural residences. In 1981, while thirty-five percent of the people of Ukrainian origin in urban areas were members of the Ukrainian Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches, forty-eight percent in rural Alberta belonged to those two religious groups. This table shows that urban Ukrainian populations became more religiously heterogeneous than the rural Ukrainian populations. Considering the impact of the Ukrainian Church on the retention of Ukrainian tradition and ethnic elements in wedding rituals, the majority of the people of Ukrainian origin may be beyond the influence of the Ukrainian Churches, and their wedding rituals are very likely to be influenced by different religions or cultures.

Table 8: Population of People of Ukrainian Ethnic Origin By Religion and Rural-Urban Status –Alberta in 1981

Religions	Urban	Rural	Total
All Religions	142.040	50,190	192,230
Ukrainian Catholic	26,345	10,500	36,845
Eastern Orthodox	24,585	13,715	38,300
Roman Catholic	28,505	7,680	36,185
United Church	26,140	7,920	34,060
Anglican	5,920	1,480	7,400
Presbyterian	1,435	420	1,855
Baptist	2,215	650	2,850
Pentecostal	2,265	820	3,085
Lutheran	3,820	1,220	5,040
Jehovah's Witness	1,480	430	1,910

(Source: Kordan (1985) and the 1981 Canada census)

Table 9 shows that relatively few Ukrainian Canadians in 2001 identified Ukrainian as their mother tongue or home language.

Table 9: Ukrainians' responses on mother tongue and home language in Edmonton, 2001

Ukrainian single / multiple origin population	Ukrainian Mother tongue (%)	Ukrainian Home language (%)
44,680 / 81,045	18,005 (14)	1,050 (0.8)

(Source: 2001 Canada census)

As late as 1941, 92.1 percent of Ukrainian Canadians reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue (94.3 percent in the Prairie provinces, 85.2 percent in Ontario, 88.0 percent in Quebec, 71.4 percent in British Columbia). Language loss accelerated over the next 30 years, however, and in 1981, only 55.1 percent of single-origin Ukrainian Canadians reported Ukrainian as their mother tongue. Ukrainians in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Ontario, and Quebec were less assimilated linguistically[1], with 58.9, 58.1, 60.8 and 73.5 percent, respectively, being native Ukrainian speakers; those in Alberta (49.8 percent) and British Columbia (42.3 percent) were more assimilated (Swyripa, 1984, p. 358). Almost all Canadians of Ukrainian origin who first learned a language other than Ukrainian have been assimilated into the English linguistic community. Given that Ukrainian traditional weddings were accompanied by many oral rituals, we can expect that a significant number of wedding rituals must have been lost.

The number of immigrants from Ukraine has been increasing since 1991 (see Table 10). According to Isajiw (2001), among the new arrivals, a full 92.3 per cent indicated that they felt the importance of passing on a sense of Ukrainian culture to their children. Considering their continuing interest in Ukrainian matters, these respondents may practice their old and/or new wedding customs from Ukraine in a traditional way even though they might limit and modify these customs. New Ukrainian immigrants can influence the nature of Ukrainian Canadian wedding rituals.

Table 10: Immigrant Population from Ukraine by Sex, Showing Period of Immigration, Canada and the Provinces, 1996 (based on 20% sample data) Alberta - 1996

Sex	Total	Before 1961	1961-1970	1971-1980	1981-1990	1991-1996
Both	5,190	3,800	200	200	270	710
Male	2,570	2,010	65	80	130	280
Female	2,625	1,795	135	120	140	430

(Source: Kordan, 2000, p. 223)

Increasing intermarriage, the decline in traditional religion, low organizational membership, and Ukrainian-language loss are affecting the size and strength of the Ukrainian-Canadian community. According to Swyripa (1984), those concerned with ethnic survival have responded to the situation in two ways. The traditionalists, who are the older intelligentsia and some third-generation activists, have renewed their efforts to regenerate the Ukrainian language. In the 1970s, many of these people felt an urgent need to preserve the Ukrainian language in Canada. In 1974, the first English-Ukrainian bilingual or partial immersion classes were established in Edmonton. These have since been opened in other Prairie centres. Later, some activist groups such as Parents for Ukrainian Education achieved success in initiating heritage language programs in a number of public schools in the prairies and Ontario. The majority of Anglophone Ukrainians, on the other hand, have been substituting English as a medium of Ukrainian Canadian cultural expression. They believe that one does not have to speak Ukrainian to be Ukrainian. They see themselves as Canadians of Ukrainian ancestry. They emphasize the importance of English-language publications on Ukrainian subjects and stress the non-verbal dimensions of traditional culture, such as folk dancing, handicrafts, native cuisine, and adherence to religious festivities (Swyripa, 1984, p. 358).

2.2. Marriage patterns based on empirical data

The marriage patterns of populations of Ukrainian origin have been rarely discussed. One good source explaining the marriage patterns of various ethnic groups, including Ukrainians, is Richard's (1991) study *Ethnic groups and marital choices*, which was based on the 1971 census. Richard focused on the pattern of intermarriage, examining various factors such as the sex ratio, ethnic-connectedness, percentage of urban participants, occupational status, educational attainment, and percentage of native-born participants. Richard's study indicated several reasons for the increase in the proportion of people of multiple ethnic status, or, in other words, for the increase in intermarriage. First, an imbalance in the population for each sex causes marriage between people of different ethnic origins. Second, high levels of educational and occupational attainment are associated with intermarriage (Barron, 1972, p. 43). Third, the distribution of ethnic populations into urban and rural residence has implications for intermarriage. It is expected that, all other things being equal, individuals living in urban areas are more likely to intermarry than those living in rural areas (Hurd, 1929, p. 133). Among these three reasons for the increase in intermarriage, I discuss more about the first two in the following.

Richard (1991) explained that the "sex ratio" is the number of males per hundred females. According to Kalbach (1989), expanding populations in developing areas that attract large numbers of international migrants are generally characterized by excess numbers of males (p. 109). The Ukrainian population in Canada had a proportionately larger number of immigrants, and hence, more males, than many other ethnic populations that had settled earlier in Canada. In reality, the Ukrainian sex ratio was as high as 118:100 in 1921, so the pressure to intermarry would have been high among the early Ukrainian male immigrants. According to Swyripa (1993), an imbalanced sex ratio, with a surplus of adult males, joined forces with the demands of homesteading to exaggerate and exploit the traditional peasant concept of marriage as an economic necessity. 'Bride-wanted' advertisements in the Ukrainian immigrant press represented one response of bachelors deprived of a traditional source of potential wives by a novel and unnatural situation, particularly for men who lived away from the bloc settlements. Letters to the press from men working in Lethbridge and Vancouver, for example, spoke of the men's loneliness without Ukrainian girls and tried to entice them with promises of well-paid jobs in the service industries or the local hotels (pp. 81-82). The Ukrainian sex ratio decreased to 109:100 by 1961 and to 104:100 by 1971, becoming more closely approximate to that for the total Canadian population over the entire age range.

As previously noted, Richard (1991) argued that high levels of education also tend to influence patterns of intermarriage. Presenting the percentage of illiterate Canadians by ethnic origin, she explained that the English were the most literate of the ethnic populations, reflecting their social and economic dominance. These data suggest that those wishing to marry in 1871 would have most likely preferred an English spouse and, in 1971, one of British origin generally. English Canadians' levels of occupational and educational status would have made them statistically more desirable as marriage partners than people of other ethnic or cultural groups (p. 103).

Who married whom

The ethnic choices for husbands of Ukrainian origin in 1981 and 1971 are presented in the following table. According to Table 11, the percentage of endogamous marriages decreased from 54% in 1971 to 40% in 1981. In 1981, husbands of Ukrainian single origin tended to find their marriage partners more frequently among Ukrainian women of single origin than among Ukrainian women of multiple origin. Ukrainian husbands of multiple origin found Ukrainian wives more often among women of multiple origin than among women of single origin. In the case of exogamy, a significantly larger proportion of husbands of Ukrainian origin acquired wives of British origin compared to wives of all other ethnic origins. As well, around 10 percent more Ukrainian husbands of multiple origin (37%) acquired British ethnic wives than Ukrainian husbands of single origin (27.7%). High proportions of Ukrainian husbands also selected wives from ethnic groups (e.g., the Polish group) that were culturally similar. Finally, a greater percentage of foreign-born husbands of Ukrainian origin (27.9 %) than Canadian-born husbands (9.6 %) found Polish wives (See Table 12).

Table 11: Husband-Wife Families, Ethnic Origin of Husband by Ethnic Origin of Wife, Canada and Provinces, 1981 and 1971

Year	Husband		Ethnic Origin Wife								
	Ethnic Origin	Total	Ukrainian		Polish	Russian	British	German	Scandinavian	French	Other origin
			Single	Multiple							
Canada											
1981	Ukrainian Single	147,765	62,580 (42.3%)	2,725 (1.8)	6,290 (4.2)	670 (0.45)	40,975 (27.7)	10,155 (1.96)	2,910 (1.96)	6,925 (4.68)	14,535 (9.8)
	Ukrainian Multiple	27,105	2,210 (8%)	2,600 (10)	575 (2)	85 (0.3)	10,000 (37)	1,470 (5)	590 (2)	1,275 (5)	8,315 (30)
	Stet	5,611,495	142,525 (3%)	30,460 (0.5)	69,365 (1)	12,760 (0.2)	2,319,635 (41)	305,070 (5)	74,890 (1)	1,512,080 (27)	1,144,715 (20)
1971	Ukrainian Single	137,240	74,050 (54%)		7,915 (5.8)	-	29,525 (21.5)	8,230 (6)	2,960 (2)	5,930 (4)	8,630 (6)
	All Canadians	4,605,485	135,990 (3%)		71,235 (2)	-	2,095,075 (45)	303,730 (7)	87,520 (2)	1,243,255 (27)	668,680 (15)
Alberta											
1981	Ukrainian single	37,380	16,555 (44)	845 (2)	1,400 (4)	120 (0.3)	9,400 (25)	3,125 (8)	1,040 (3)	1,425 (4)	3,485 (9)
	Ukrainian Multiple	6,075	600 (10)	710 (12)	120 (2)	15 (0.2)	1,835 (30)	435 (7)	185 (3)	275 (5)	1,895 (31)
	All Canadians	508,730	35,960	7,225	10,285	1,890	216,700	61,010	20,295	27,835	117,520
1971	Ukrainian Single	31,080	17,830 (57)		1,630 (5)	-	5,795 (19)	2,055 (7)	900 (3)	1,115 (4)	1,755 (6)
	All Canadians	348,805	31,085 (9)		9,685 (3)	-	162,255 (47)	52,370 (15)	22,010 (6)	19,900 (6)	51,500 (15)

(Source: adapted from Darcovich, 1988, p. 107)

Table 12: Ethnic origin of intermarried Ukrainian husband by ethnic origin of wife by nativity of husband, Canada, 1971

Ethnic origin NB husband	Ethnic Origin of Wife								
	British	French	German	Italian	Dutch	Polish	Scandinavian	other	Per Cent
Canadian-born Ukrainian husband	46.9	10.8	11.3	2.0	2.0	9.6	6.6	10.7	100.0
Foreign-born Ukrainian husband	33.7	7.0	14.0	2.3	1.2	27.9	1.2	12.8	100.0

(Source: adapted from Table 22 of Richard, 1991, pp. 140 and 141)

The current endogamy rate for Ukrainians in the Edmonton area is not readily available. I suggest that intra-ethnic Ukrainian weddings are much less frequent than inter-ethnic marriages. The endogamy rate in my sample is approximately 60 % much higher than a representative sample would be.

2.3 The wedding industry and ethnic weddings

Focusing on the stereotypical white wedding, which permeates both the culture and the industry in America, Ingraham (1999) provided some insight into how weddings are used to reinforce the dominance of heterosexuality in U.S. media and popular culture. She argued that the contemporary wedding under "transnational capitalism" is, in effect, a mass-marketed, homogeneous, assembly-line production (p. 74). She also pointed out that enormous profit-making ventures benefit from wedding productions, which have become extravagant spectacles encouraging the accumulation of material goods (p. 74).

According to Ingraham, the wedding industry had to create the fantasy of the once-in-a-lifetime extravaganza/spectacle, or this industry would have ceased to exist. This fantasy is maintained by the "wedding-ideological complex" (p. 75). American institutions and popular culture begin preparing women from childhood for their eventual role as the centre of attraction and producer of the public wedding spectacle. Over and over again, women proclaim they have been waiting for this spectacle since they were young children. Barbie dolls with bridal gowns and bridal parties; "My Size Bride Barbie," which allows girls to try on Barbie's wedding gown; Disney films; television cartoons and sitcoms; soap operas; messages from family members; girls' roles as flower girls and junior bridesmaids; and wedding toys that invite little girls to plan a pretend wedding all contribute to this effort (Ingraham, 1999, pp. 104-105).

Bridal magazines also make it their business to prepare the bride for her part in "the most important day of her life" and for planning "her day." Slogans such as these frequently appear throughout bridal literature. By producing and exploiting the well-developed fantasy of the "perfect" wedding with the future bride as the "perfect" bride with a "perfect" romance, the wedding industry is able to promote accumulation (Ingraham, p. 105). As part of the wedding-ideological complex, media constructions of celebrity weddings play a powerful part in linking romance with accumulation. Represented as "reality," celebrity weddings appeal to readers as actual manifestations of the fairy-tale or storybook romance (Ingraham, p. 105).

The "wedding-ideological complex" is working not only in America, but also in Edmonton, Canada. According to the 2001 census, Edmonton is the sixth-largest city in Canada. This census showed that half of the Canadian population resides in four metropolitan centres: the Golden Horseshoe of southern Ontario, Montreal and surrounding area, British Columbia's lower mainland and southern Vancouver Island, and the Calgary-Edmonton corridor. Seven cities in these regions have been growing twice as fast as the national average, with Calgary experiencing the biggest increase, and Edmonton's economy remains one of the strongest in the country. According to the

Conference Board of Canada (2003), the Edmonton-Calgary corridor (which has a GDP of $83 billion) has Canada's third-largest regional economy. I assume that the growth of the population and economy in Edmonton benefits the wedding market in Edmonton.

Between September 2003 and January 2004, four bridal shows were held in Edmonton: the Bridal Expo (September 28, 2003), the Bridal Showcase (October 26, 2003), the Bridal Fair (January 11, 2004), and the Bridal Fantasy (January 18, 2004). At each show, sixty to eighty wedding-related companies exhibited their products. Those exhibitors are engaged in the following businesses: accessories, bridal fashions, cake, cosmetics, custom design, deco & rentals, event planning, flowers, gift registry, honeymoons, house & home, invitations, lingerie, men's tuxedos, music, photography, publications, facilities, transportation, videography, websites, wedding planning, and others.

One of the oldest bridal shows in Edmonton is the "Bridal Fair," which has been held for 29 years since making its debut. The 2004 event included two fashion shows at 11:30 a.m. and 3:30 p.m. featuring the latest in bridal wear and lingerie as well as the new formal wear for men. The Fair also organized a "Bridal Gown Gallery" where customers could purchase discontinued bridal gowns at drastically reduced prices. The Fair's marketing strategy included two door prizes: "an all-inclusive honeymoon in Jamaica" and "a beautiful set of matching gold diamond wedding bands."

Bridal shows have become a one-stop market-place for a bride and groom to buy all they need for their wedding. The Bridal Fair in Edmonton advertised itself by using statements like the following: "Bridal Fair 2004 is a chance for couples to plan their whole wedding, in just one day!" ("Bridal Fair," 2004, p. E3). The Bridal Fair's target was not only the bride and groom but also their family and friends: "So if a wedding is in your future, bring along your partner, your family and your friends and find out what's new and exciting in the world of weddings" ("Bridal Fair").

As Ingraham argued, the whole wedding business is supported by the "wedding-ideological complex." Not only business companies but also the mass media play a major role in promoting the fantasy of the spectacle. The Bridal Fair in Edmonton was sponsored by a local newspaper, the *Edmonton Journal*, EZ Rock 104.9, *Weddingbells* magazine, Air Canada Vacations Super Clubs and Uniglobe/Geo Travel.

In the same month when the Bride Fair was held, many programs on weddings appeared on television: "On Jan. 24, the Australian series *Marry Me* premieres, followed the next day by an eight-part Canadian series, *Get Me To the Wedding*. Top off the evening with *Hollywood's Ten Best Wedding Movies*, featuring wedding moments with tinsel town's most beloved stars. The "matrimania" continues the succeeding weekend with more of *Get Me to the Wedding*, along with special marriage-themed episodes of *The Shopping Bags*, *Style VIP*, *The Right Fit* and *Stylin' Gypsies* . . . ." ("Matrimania is coming to a TV near you," 2004, p. E2). This information indicates how the mass media focus people's attention on weddings, by supporting the wedding business and helping to create the "fantasy of the spectacle" ("Matrimania is coming").

A few days before the Bridal Fair, the *Edmonton Journal*, contained a three-page special section on weddings. This section's headline was "Star-struck weddings: How celebrity nuptials have influenced Canadian brides" (Harris, 2004, p. E1). The reporter began by describing the influence of celebrity weddings on Canadians' weddings. Even though "the splashy, overwrought nuptials of A-listers such as Celine Dion, Wayne

Gretzky and David Beckham set a standard that was as inimitable as it was ostentatious" (p. E1), celebrity weddings no longer mean "overdone" because from the choice of music to the colour of the table linens, a budget-strapped bride can always find something to copy. Quoting Sacks, the wedding planner for Jennifer Lopez and Ben Affleck, Harris mentioned that "celebrity marriages will never lose their appeal in the public eye. And that's saying a lot, given in the matrimania currently consuming Canadians" (p. E1). According to McGill, editor-in-chief of *Weddingbells*, a bridal publication in Canada, "Brides want to know what the Hollywood set is doing so they can get inspired by it. . . . From a fashion perspective, there's a lot of influence" (as cited in Harris, 2004, p. E3). McGill continued, "Brides want to take little elements from celebrity weddings and put their own spin on it, so they can feel like they're having their own glamour moment" (as cited in Harris, 2004, p. E3).

Harris (2004) also mentioned that although the wedding industry produces homogeneous weddings, the Canadian wedding has its own distinctive characteristics. For example, the average Canadian wedding costs around $ 22,000 or about $ 5,000 less than a typical U.S. wedding. Also, Canadians tend to emphasize heritage and symbolism when deciding upon where to marry. Quoting Willington, the Canadian coordinator for the International Association of Bridal Consultants, Harris pointed out that even though the traditional church ceremony and hall or hotel reception are becoming less popular than they were previously, Canadian couples like places with a view – particularly those that have heritage and symbolism. Today, Canadians want to get married at a special location and create a theme for their wedding ceremonies.

No one can deny the wedding industry's powerful influence on Canadian weddings. However, the wedding industry's effect on the expression of ethnic identification in Canadian weddings is questionable. As Leeds-Hurwitz (2002) stated, secular wedding specialists can most conveniently organize a wedding if they can stick to what they have already learned to do well, rather than having to incorporate new and different elements into the ceremony (p. 63). Even though the wedding industry and mass media play a major role in creating mass-marketed wedding productions, the bride and groom as well as the other wedding participants can always find ways to make a wedding distinctive. One strategy available is to enhance the visibility of ethnicity and to use ethnic symbols. In the following chapters, this study will focus on the individual's and community's creativity in constructing and inventing a variety of ethnic elements in wedding ceremonies.

Note

[1] This is because Ontario and Quebec had more immigrants from third wave.

Chapter 3: The Pattern of Ukrainian Canadian Weddings

In this chapter, I explain the pattern of Ukrainian Canadian weddings during the last fifteen years. The description is based mainly on my fieldwork materials. I divide the Ukrainian Canadian wedding into three phases: the pre-wedding phase, the wedding day (the church service and the reception), and the post-wedding phase. For each phase, I identify the Ukrainian elements, including the symbols and rituals that can be included to express a Ukrainian identity.

3.1 Pre-wedding phase

The decision to marry

Today, mutual affection between prospective spouses has become more important in contracting a marriage than the parents' matchmaking decision. The tradition of matchmaking seems to be long gone. None of my informants had so-called preparation or commencement rituals, such as *dopyty*, *svatannia*, *ohliadyny*, *zmovyny*, or *zaruchyny*.[1] Ukrainian Canadian parents are no longer instrumental in choosing prospective mates for their children, for young people now have a free choice in selecting whom to marry. From the parent's perspective, however, intra-ethnic (endogamous) marriage can be most desirable for their children. According to Gena and Michael (couple 11), their parents never explicitly said that they wanted them to marry someone Ukrainian, but their parents believed that their children should carry on their culture. Michael thinks that every parent hopes that his or her children will marry someone similar to them. When Gena went to meet Michael's parents for the first time in Saskatoon, she stayed in Michael's parents' house. Michael's aunt came and talked to his mother in Ukrainian, saying, "Oh well, what is this girl like? Is she Ukrainian?" Then Gena came out and said in Ukrainian, " Oh, yeah, I am Ukrainian." Michael's aunt and mother were so exited that they began hugging each other.

Parental Permission / Approval

Today, some young people ask for their parents' permission to marry, as a way of respecting their parents. The parents' responses can differ depending on how much they are attached to their traditions. Some parents may ask the future bride or groom to respect their child's ethnic culture or religion while others may not care about any differences. For example, before his official engagement, Wayne, an English descendant, visited Lorraine's parents to get their permission first (couple 23). Lorraine's parents, who had known Wayne for three years, were pleased to listen to Wayne's request for permission. Perhaps ceremonially, they asked him if he would support Lorraine if she wanted to keep her cultural and religious heritage. Wayne recalled, "We talked about responsibilities of maintaining the strong connections with church and with culture that were important for both [Lorraine's parents]. Certainly I had no objections for that." Wayne had been baptized and confirmed at an Anglican church, but he had not been very much involved with any church for years until he met Lorraine. Thus, he converted to Lorraine's religion rather easily. After Wayne and Lorraine became engaged, they shared the news with Wayne's parents, who were very pleased to hear about their decision.

Wedding date

Several factors can influence the decision about when to set the wedding date. First, the bride and groom's seasonal preference can be an important factor. According to an article in *The Victoria Times Colonist*, the most popular month for weddings is August, followed closely by June, July, May and September ("It's a pricey occasion, which adds to stress," 2003, C2). Secondly, the availability of a hall is a very important factor in deciding the wedding date. Because of the limited number of halls, especially in busy seasons, the availability of a hall can determine the wedding date. Lorraine (couple 23) made a joke about booking a hall for a wedding: "Book the hall first, and then find the bride."

The place for the wedding

Whether the bride and groom are an intra- or inter-ethnic couple, for those who are of the same religion, the decision about where to get married is easy. If the bride and groom are of different religions, but only one side is strongly religious, the decision to get married in that person's church is possible. However, if both sides are actively religious, but are of different religions, they have to decide in whose church they should hold their wedding. Currently, Ukrainian Canadians are of various religions and marry in various churches. However, a church is not the only place in which a wedding service can be held. According to their personal situations, some people who are religious can get married in some place other than a church. Others who are not religious at all often want an outdoor wedding, for example a wedding in a park, a greenhouse, their parents' house or any favorite place where the service can be held.

License

One of the wedding arrangements includes official paperwork in the form of a marriage license. This ritual results from institutional regulations. According to Canadian law, every couple is supposed to obtain a license before their wedding ceremony. A marriage license is valid for a period of three months from the date of issue. After getting this license, the bride and groom are responsible for making arrangements for a marriage ceremony of their choice.

Invitations

Shortly after the engagement is announced, typically months before the impending nuptials, the bride (sometimes with the assistance of her groom) goes to a printing company and chooses her invitations. The invitations sometimes feature a Ukrainian motif (i.e., *korovai*, *rushnyk* (embroidered cloth), icons) and may be printed bilingually (see Photo 1, 2, 3 and 4). Recently, some couples have produced their own invitations by using a computer in order to save money and create their own unique symbols.

Two to four months before the wedding, the invitations are mailed out to all of the guests. Reply cards and reply envelopes are included with the invitations, for the guests to respond to the appropriate address.

The use of invitation cards is a new tradition that did not exist in Ukrainian wedding traditions.[2] The bride and groom can express their sense of their ethnicity and/or their artistic creativity by choosing the style, design, and/or languages of their invitation cards. Such elements may indicate the importance of heritage and culture to the bride and groom and most likely will be connected with similar elements throughout the entire wedding.

For wedding invitations, the wedding industry produces pre-made templates based on commercialized tastes. However, Ukrainian Canadians sometimes attempt to change those templates to add Ukrainianness to their invitation cards. Grant and Karen (couple 14), who won a prize from a radio station, had a free wedding sponsored by various companies engaged in the wedding business. Since this couple had only a week to

Our Wedding Invitation

Photo 1
An invitation card: Ukrainian motif 1
From Jerry and Irene Kolomijchuk (couple 1)

Photo 2
An invitation card: Ukrainian motif 2
From Bohdan and Jess Nahachewsky (couple 10)

Геня
і
Михайло

Photo 3
An invitation card: Bilingual invitation 1
From Michael and Gena Kornylo (couple 11)

Gena
&
Michael

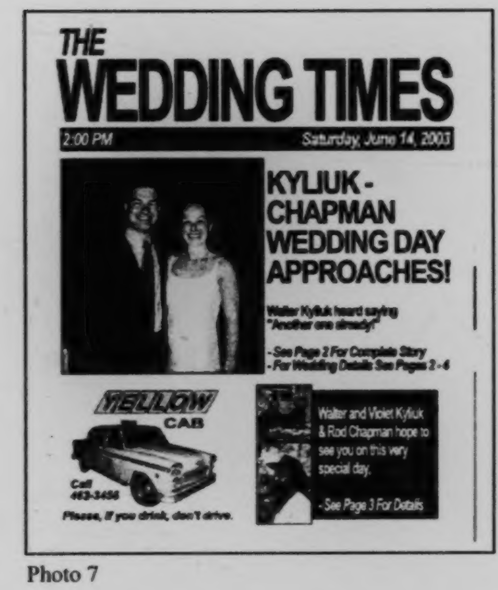
Photo 4
An invitation card: Bilingual invitation 2
From Michael and Gena Kornylo (couple 11)

Photo 5
An invitation card: Ukrainian motif 3
From Grant and Karen McDonald (couple 14)

Photo 6
An invitation card: Ukrainian motif 4
From Grant and Karen McDonald (couple 14)

prepare for their wedding, they could not send people their invitation cards. Thus, a printing house that was also a sponsor of their wedding event promised them to make a formal invitation card for their second wedding reception, to which Grant and Karen planned to invite a larger number of people. The printing house prepared a kind of program to give to people on the wedding day. This program had a design consisting of three stalks of wheat with a red ribbon draped around them (see Photo 5). Grant and Karen chose this design from the samples at the printing house, but Grant did not like the red ribbon. Thus, after the wedding ceremony, he used a computer to replace the red ribbon with a *rushnyk* (see Photo 6). They chose the wheat because it symbolizes welcoming, greetings, and prosperity in Ukrainian culture. Grant chose a *rushnyk* because he believed that it was a Ukrainian symbol of unity.

Quentin (couple 26), who is a third-generation Ukrainian descendant, made his invitation card in a newspaper format (see Photo 7-10). Even though he used a totally different form and content, he tried to emphasize his Ukrainianness, comically mentioning Ukrainian food and other Ukrainian elements. The following two sentences are from his invitation card: "Those invitees concerned with caloric intake would be advised to put that aside for one night as this dinner is sure to include a couple of traditional Ukrainian dishes with unintelligible names . . . ." and "[Mr.] Chapman congratulated his daughter and future son-in-law in their upcoming nuptials. He did question if this marriage made him Ukrainian. He will consult the Queen."



THE WEDDING TIMES

2:00 PM Saturday, June 14, 2003

KYLIUK - CHAPMAN WEDDING DAY APPROACHES!

Walter Kyliuk heard saying "Another one already!"

- See Page 2 For Complete Story
- For Wedding Details See Pages 2 - 4

YELLOW CAB

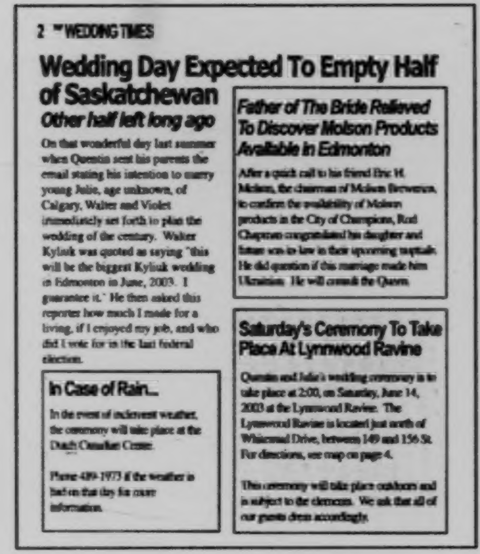
Call 463-3456

Please, if you drink, don't drive.

Walter and Violet Kyliuk & Rod Chapman hope to see you on this very special day.

- See Page 3 For Details

Photo 7



2 THE WEDDING TIMES

Wedding Day Expected To Empty Half of Saskatchewan

Other half left long ago

On that wonderful day last summer when Quentin sent his parents the email stating his intention to marry young Julie, age unknown, of Calgary, Walter and Violet immediately set forth to plan the wedding of the century. Walter Kyliuk was quoted as saying "this will be the biggest Kyliuk wedding in Edmonton in June, 2003. I guarantee it." He then asked this reporter how much I made for a living, if I enjoyed my job, and who did I vote for in the last federal election.

In Case of Rain...

In the event of inclement weather, the ceremony will take place at the Dutch Canadian Centre.

Phone 489-1973 if the weather is bad on that day for more information.

Father of The Bride Relieved To Discover Molson Products Available in Edmonton

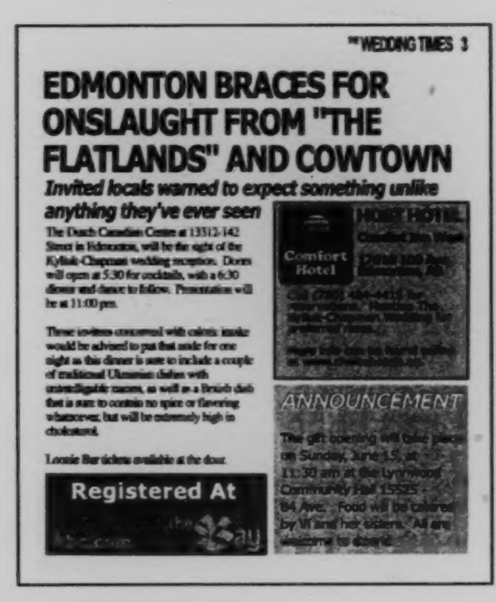
After a quick call to his friend Eric H. Molson, the chairman of Molson Breweries, to confirm the availability of Molson products in the City of Champions, Rod Chapman congratulated his daughter and future son-in-law in their upcoming nuptials. He did question if this marriage made him Ukrainian. He will consult the Queen.

Saturday's Ceremony To Take Place At Lynnwood Ravine

Quentin and Julie's wedding ceremony is to take place at 2:00, on Saturday, June 14, 2003 at the Lynnwood Ravine. The Lynnwood Ravine is located just north of Whitemud Drive, between 149 and 156 St. For directions, see map on page 4.

This ceremony will take place outdoors and is subject to the elements. We ask that all of our guests dress accordingly.

Photo 8



THE WEDDING TIMES 3

EDMONTON BRACES FOR ONSLAUGHT FROM "THE FLATLANDS" AND COWTOWN

Invited locals warned to expect something unlike anything they've ever seen

The Dutch Canadian Centre at 13312-142 Street in Edmonton, will be the sight of the Kyliuk-Chapman wedding reception. Doors will open at 5:30 for cocktails, with a 6:30 dinner and dance to follow. Presentation will be at 11:00 pm.

Those invitees concerned with caloric intake would be advised to put that aside for one night as this dinner is sure to include a couple of traditional Ukrainian dishes with unintelligible names, as well as a British dish that is sure to contain no spice or flavoring whatsoever, but will be extremely high in cholesterol.

Loonie Bar tickets available at the door.

HOST HOTEL

Comfort Hotel

[illegible]

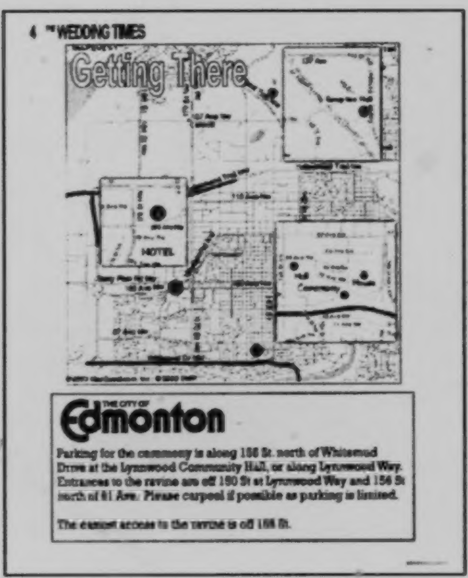
Registered At

[illegible]

ANNOUNCEMENT

The gift opening will take place on Sunday, June 15, at 11:30 am at the Lynnwood Community Hall 15525 - 84 Ave. Food will be catered by Vi and her sisters. All are welcome to attend.

Photo 9



4 THE WEDDING TIMES

Getting There

THE CITY OF Edmonton

Parking for the ceremony is along 156 St. north of Whitemud Drive at the Lynnwood Community Hall, or along Lynnwood Way. Entrances to the ravine are off 150 St at Lynnwood Way and 156 St north of 81 Ave. Please carpool if possible as parking is limited.

The easiest access to the ravine is off 156 St.

Photo 10

Photo 7,8,9,10
An invitation card: a newspaper format
From Quentin and Julie Kyliuk (couple 26)

Derevtse (*or Hil'tse*)[3]

The *derevtse* or *hil'tse* is a ritual wedding tree. Typically, it is a young sapling or the top of a spruce or other evergreen tree. It symbolizes the tree of life and the new family tree that is being established with the coming together of two clans in marriage. In Ukrainian traditional weddings, this tree was decorated with ribbons, coins, pinecones, candles, flowers, or berries a day before the wedding.[4] It was carried by the *druzhba* (best man) and commanded a place of honour next to or, sometimes, planted into the middle of the *korovai*. Although during the early part of the twentieth century, Ukrainian weddings often included this ritual tree, it was omitted for the remainder of the century. However, a revival of the *derevtse* now seems to be occurring in some Ukrainian Canadian communities as they learn more about traditional wedding elements. Among my 32 pairs of informants, only three couples followed this tradition. Two of them were intra-ethnic couples, and the other one was a Ukrainian-English couple. Those who are involved in cultural or religious organizations or who are from a family that is strongly attached to ethnic traditions now have a greater likelihood of following this tradition.

Photo 11
Making *derevtse*
From Bohdan and Jess Nahachewsky (couple 10)

A few days before the wedding of Bohdan and Jess (couple 10), the ritual of the making *derevtse* was performed (see Photo 11). This ritual was a part of the *vinkopletennia* and was performed in the hall where their wedding reception would be held on the wedding day. Bohdan's brother and sister-in-law played the role of *starosty* (matchmakers) and led the ritual, explaining its meaning and purpose. All family members participated in making the *derevtse*, hanging ribbons, coins, flowers, and other objects on a green tree. Since Jess's family did not know about this ritual, it was conducted under the guidance of a *starosty*. This old, but, for Jess's family, new ritual interested her brother and was included in his wedding rituals later.

Lorraine (couple 23) and her Shumka dancer friends performed another example of this ritual at the home of one of her closest friends as a part of the *divych vechir* a few months before her wedding. The participants prepared a small-sized spruce tree, and each one brought something to hang on it. The objects hung on the tree had symbolic or personal meanings. For example, one of Lorraine's friends, who was the Master of Ceremonies for her wedding, brought a magnet in the shape of a *pyrih* (dumpling) because she and Lorraine had had a funny experience involving *pyrohy*. Lorraine's friend hung it on the tree, telling people the story about the *pyrohy* (dumplings). Someone hung a little red boot on the tree while Lorraine's mother hung a small sewing machine on it because Lorraine's and her mother's connection to Shumka had begun with making costumes. Thus, the things hung on the tree were connected with experiences that Lorraine and the participants had shared together. Lorraine brought the tree to the reception hall and put it in front of the MC. According to Lorraine, the tradition of the *divych vechir* and decorating the tree has been popular for the last fifteen years in her dance group. The idea of making a *derevtse* came out of the old tradition, but the ritual was stylized in form and conveyed the participants' various personal meanings, so that the tree symbolized not only life but also the relationships between Lorraine and the people closest to her.

Photo 12
A wedding tree
From Greg Paholok and Luba Eshenko (couple 3)

Sometimes lack of knowledge about a tradition causes people not to recognize its meaning and purpose. Luba's (couple 3) bridal shower included a green tree decorated with various items (see Photo 12). She did not know its meaning, but I assume that that someone might have decorated it as a wedding tree.

Korovai, Kolach, and other breads

The *korovai* or *kolach* is the principle wedding bread at a Ukrainian wedding.[5] In some parts of Ukraine, including some parts of western regions from where most Ukrainian Canadians came, people call the wedding bread *kolach*. However, most of my informants preferred to use the term "*korovai*." Though traditionally, two wedding breads were made, one for the bride and one for the groom, this tradition was altered in the twentieth century, and now just one *korovai* or *kolach* is usually made.

However, depending on how people assign meaning to it, several wedding breads can be made in different shape. For example, Michael and Gena (couple 11) wanted to have four *korovai* because they wanted one for themselves, two for both parents, and a fourth, smaller one for the display on the table for the guest register (see Photo 13).

Besides the *korovai* and *kolach*, *korovaichyky* (many small *korovai*) can be prepared. The wedding *kolach* is often used for the blessing or for displaying on the registry or dining table at the reception hall while the *korovaichyky* are prepared as a gift for the guests (see Photo 14, 15).

Photo 13
Four *korovai*
From Michael and Gena Kornylo (couple 11)

Photo 14
The *kolachi* for displaying on the dining tables
From Michael and Gena Kornylo (couple 11)

Photo 15
Korovaichyky
From Grant and Karen McDonald (couple 14)

A discussion of the *korovai* can be divided into three sections: first, the procedures for making the *korovai*, second, its shape, and third, its function and meaning.

In the Old Country, a collective procedure for making the *korovai* was used (Borysenko, 1988, p. 44; Chubinskii, 1876, p. 215; Pravdiuk, 1970, p. 18; Vovk, 1995, p. 244; Zdoroveha, 1974, p. 78). In order to make the *korovai*, the *korovainytsi* (*korovai* makers) had to be chosen from women who could meet certain criteria. Each had to be a respected middle-aged wife with a good married life at the time of the wedding ceremony (Pravdiuk, 1970, p. 18; Vovk, 1995, p. 245; Zdoroveha, 1974, p. 78). From the collecting of the ingredients to bake the *korovai*, to every step in the whole process, specific rituals were performed, accompanied by ritual songs.[6] Today, the procedure of making the *korovai* has become privatized and individualized. It is usually made by a single person who is sometimes chosen from among family members, neighbours, crafts people, or respected persons in the community. This person is usually paid for her artistic work.

The *korovai* can be made in various forms. Some of them follow traditional forms while others have hybrid forms and aesthetic qualities that deviate from it.

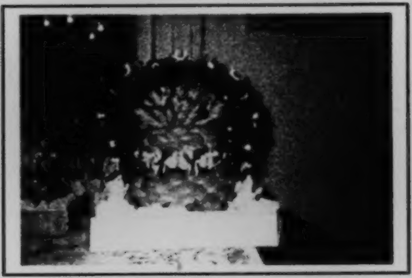


Photo 16
Two-tiered *korovai* decorated with wheat plants, ribbons, and green leaves
From Michael and Gena Kornylo (Couple 11)

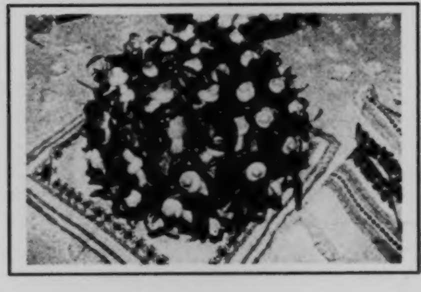


Photo 17
A *korovai* decorated with dough birds and periwinkles
From Wayne and Lorrane Alfred (couple 23)

The *korovai* may be decorated with braided wreaths, "*krutsi* (swirls)," wheat plants, leaves, flowers, ribbons, periwinkle/myrtle, dough birds, or other dough symbols (see Photo 16, 17). In some cases, the colors of the flowers and ribbons are specially chosen to match the color scheme of the bridal party's dresses or the hall decorations (see Photo 18, 19).

Photo 18

Photo 19

A *korovai* decorated with blue and red flowers, matching the color scheme of the bridal party's dresses From Mark and Lloyanne Galas (couple 8)

The *korovai*'s shape is not necessarily connected with the Ukrainian regional tradition that the families of the bride and groom or their bread maker was originally related to. The bride and groom may suggest a specific design to the *korovai* maker. However, the entire procedure of making a *korovai* as well as its shape and design depends mainly on the *korovai* maker. One *korovai* maker reported that she tries to follow the tradition of *korovai* making, but sometimes attempts to change the *korovai*'s shape and design. She learned how to bake *korovai* not only from her grandmother, but also from books and her own experiences. Sometimes she has created new designs to make the *korovai* look more beautiful. One example was a *korovai* that had an arch decorated with green leaves (see Photo 20). Even though some traditional *korovai* did have arches, she learned this design not from tradition but from modern Western objects. After she had made a *korovai* with an arch for her daughter, she received many orders to make similar ones for others.

Photo 20
A *korovai* that has an arch decorated with green leaves
From Dennis and Diana Kuchta (couple 6)

In order to make the *korovai* more meaningful and special, parents often use their own wedding materials to decorate their children's or others' *korovai*. For example, Quentin's (couple 26) mother took several dried leaves from her wreath and added them to the top of her son's *korovai*.

The *korovai* is used during the blessing by the parents of the bride and groom and is then displayed either on or near the head table during the reception. Some people have only *korovai* without wedding cakes. Others have both and display their *korovai* next to a wedding cake. Traditionally, the *korovai* was cut into pieces and shared by all those present at the wedding; however, in recent times, the young couple may decide to retain the *korovai* as a keepsake of their wedding. In some cases, a spray varnish or special glass case is used to preserve it. While the *korovai*'s association with communion has disappeared, the *korovai*'s artistic aspects have received more emphasis at the contemporary weddings of Ukrainian Canadians.

Bridal Shower / vinkopletennia or/and divych vechir

A bridal shower, which is a non-Ukrainian origin tradition, is somewhat reminiscent of a *vinkopletennia* or *divych vechir*.[7] This event is usually held a month or two prior to the wedding. It is planned and hosted by the bridesmaids or family members at one of their homes or at a rented hall as a means to honour the bride as a single woman for the last time. Invited guests, usually important women in the bride's life, commonly bring gifts such as household items and objects for the bride's own personal use. Food and beverages are usually served, and sometimes trivia games about the bride are played. The bridal shower has been Ukrainianized at some Canadian showers by following some of the traditions associated with the *divych vechir* and *vinkopletenia*. At some Ukrainianized versions of the bridal shower, one of the Ukrainian activities is the weaving of a wreath or *vinok* or the making of a *derevtse* (or *hil'tse*)

The *vinkopletennia* is the process of making a wreath from *barvinok* (periwinkle) or *mirta* (myrtle), to be used by the bride and groom at their wedding ceremony. In Ukraine, this ritual was possible as the *vinkopletennia* usually took place the day before the wedding. Here in Canada, the bridal shower may take place months before the actual wedding day, and therefore, the wreaths made at the shower may not be used at the ceremony, for which a fresh wreath is made (McDonald, 1995, p. 2). This ritual has become an example of retaining a tradition in some ways but also of following Canadian traditions by having the shower much in advance of the wedding. For example, Bailey (couple 19) had a unique bridal shower, which differed from the traditional one in terms of its date, content and style. First, Bailey's bridal shower was held in her mother-in-law's home a month before the wedding. Second, her mother-in-law invited a Ukrainian fortuneteller to tell people's fortunes. Third, each participant participated in making wreaths not only for the bride and groom, but also for herself. Thus, at the end of the bridal shower, all participants could wear their own wreaths (see Photo 21, 22). And fourth, Bailey and her husband, Tim, did not use the wreaths at the wedding ceremony, but kept them as mementos.

Photo 21
Making *vinky* (wreaths)

Photo 22
The participants wearing *vinky*

From Tim and Bailey (couple 19)

The *vinkopletennia* has been revived in some communities since the 1970s, especially in urban centers (Hong & Foty, 2002, "Ukrainian weddings"). If the *vinkopletennia* is planned to take place separately from the bridal shower, it usually occurs at the bride's home a day or two before the wedding. Though men can be present, only women traditionally take an active part in the ritual. For example, on Friday, a day before the wedding, the *vinkopletennia* was held at Gena's (couple 11) parents' home in Edmonton. Relatives, close friends and the bridal party were invited to the ritual. *Mirta*, *barvinok* and a green tree were prepared. Also, a Ukrainian choir came to sing traditional songs. As well, a couple of elderly ladies also sang some traditional songs. During the ceremony, female participants made two wreaths, one for Gena and one for Michael. Gena and Michael's godmothers started making the wreaths. Then both mothers and the rest of women took part in making them. Once they had been made, the female participants asked Michael to buy them. He had to go and collect money from all people in the house. At first, Michael offered five dollars, but the female participants did not accept his offer and asked for more money. Negotiations continued between Michael and the female participants. Michael finally came up with 120 dollars and several gas and movie coupons. After the women said, "yes," Michael and Gena could dance together.

Gena remembered that her aunt's *vinkopletennia* had been quite different from hers. At her aunt's *vinkopletennia*, only women were present at the ceremony, and the oldest women started making the wreaths, passing them down to younger women. In Gena's case, not only women but also men were present and played a role in her *vinkopletennia*, even though only women were in charge of making the wreaths.

While braiding the wreaths, the women sing specific ritual songs, which describe the action that is taking place. In recent times, because the traditional ritual songs are not generally well known, people replace them with whatever Ukrainian folk songs they may know, so the lyrics may not necessarily reflect the event. Historically, this ritual tended to be a somber and emotionally charged event, and tears were often shed. The custom may remind the participants of loved ones who have died, or it may revive the participants' sense of ethnic identity, or it may symbolize the bride's separation from her family (Hong & Foty, 2002).

While the *vinkopletennia* was the time to weave the wreaths, the *divych vechir* was more of a last night out. Borysenko (1988) described it as one of the most important pre-ceremony rituals. Borysenko also stated that the *divych vechir* had an important social and moral function as an act signaling the bride's change in status from that of an unmarried girl to that of a married woman. The *divych vechir* can be related to the Canadian tradition of a stagette, as the guests at both events are the bride's closest friends, but one element that does not match with the activities at a stagette is the *divych vechir*'s serious nature (McDonald, 1995, p. 2). This event is like a bridal shower, in that it signals a further progression in the bride's transformation from a girl into a wife.

Reception Hall decoration

The reception is the place where the wedding theme is most strongly expressed. The decorations are one of the ways of expressing this theme. An example of Ukrainian-themed decorations is the use of *rushnyky* (embroidered cloths) as table coverings, podium decorations, and table or wall decorations. Pictures 23 and 24 show examples of *rushnyky* used as table and wall decorations.

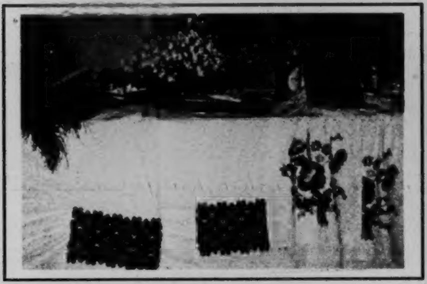


Photo 23
The *rushnyk* used as a table decoration
From Mark and Lloyanne Galas (couple 8)

Photo 24
The *rushnyk* used as a wall decoration
From Jerry and Irene Kolomijchuk (couple 1)

The colour theme

The reception is a setting where many comparisons between Ukrainian and other ethnic elements can be made. Most Canadian weddings follow some theme, whether it be a colour theme, a seasonal theme, or an even more exotic theme such as a historical theme (McDonald, 1995, p. 4).

Some of my informants used specific colours to represent their Ukrainian identity. Grant (couple 14), who used to be an active member in a dance group, thought "orange and yellow" were traditional colours of the Transcarpathian region because he always wore an embroidered orange and yellow shirt: "We mainly tried to put a little element into our wedding . . . bouquets were a kind of style, they had wheat in them, they had kind of Hutsul colours in them. Orange, yellow, green, and red, those kinds of elements were put into that." He decided to have these colours as his wedding colour theme and incorporated them into his wedding flowers and decorations (see Photo 25).

Photo 25
A bridal bouquet made of yellow, orange, and red flowers with green leaves
From Grant and Karen McDonald (couple 14)

Lloyanne (couple 23) chose red, blue, white and yellow flowers for her bridemaids' bouquets to incorporate a Ukrainian colour theme into her wedding: "We couldn't get poppies at that time of the year, so we used large red daisies for the red, and we had all kinds of daisies, delphiniums, bachelor buttons and sort of mixing in those reds, blues, yellows, and whites . . . a kind of Ukrainian colours."

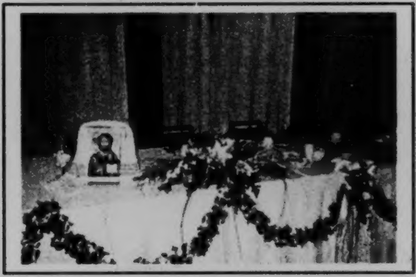


Photo 26
The *barvinok* draping the table
From Wayne and Lorraine Alfred (couple 23)

Flowers and wheat

Another example of the use of flowers is the use of *barvinok* (periwinkle), which are draped in front of the table in Photo 26. The *barvinok* can be braided or woven together into wreaths and garlands. Occasionally, the garlands may be decorated with flowers or ribbons, usually to match the wedding colours.

Wheat is also an important symbol in Ukrainian Canadian traditions. Many Ukrainian pioneers came to Canada, worked on their farms, and grew wheat and other grains. Photo 27 shows a sheaf of wheat that was a part of an autumn Ukrainian Canadian wedding, whose theme was based around the harvest. Wheat is also used in table decorations and has become increasingly popular in bouquets and corsages. In Photo number 28, wheat has been attached to the wishing well used to hold cards from guests.

Photo 27
A sheaf of wheat as a decoration
From Michael and Gena Kornylo (couple 11)

Photo 28
A wishing well decorated with wheat
From Grant and Karen McDonald (couple 14)

3.2 Wedding day

The preparation at the bride and groom's home

Today, the preparations on the wedding day are quite different from those of the 19th century in Ukraine.[8] The bride usually sleeps at her parents' house. Sometimes she cannot sleep through the night because she has to prepare her speeches. The first thing she has to do is her hair and make-up. The bride and her bridesmaids usually go together to a hair salon. In some cases, they go separately, but before the wedding ceremony, the bride's wedding party gets together at the bride's parents' house to get ready for the ceremony.

The groom's preparation is similar to the bride's, but it seems to be easier and more relaxed. The groom usually stays at his home through the night and meets his groomsmen at his house in the morning. His family often visits the groom to make sure everything is all right and then leaves for the church. In the Old Country, the groom and his entourage leave for the bride's house before the church service,[9] but, among my informants, only three grooms of the 32 went to the bride's house.

Costumes

Today, the bride and groom are usually dressed in a white wedding dress and a black suit, respectively. When the white wedding dress became popular among Ukrainian Canadians is difficult to determine. Given that at the Swan Plain wedding (1920), the bride wore a white wedding dress for the first time in the area, the white wedding dress seems to have been introduced in the early 20th century. Compared to the bride's wedding dress, the groom's suit seemed to have been more easily adapted to the Ukrainian wedding tradition.

For this study, I could not find many examples to show aspects of Ukrainianness in the costumes worn by the bride and groom. However, according to McDonald (1995), several Ukrainian features are added to the Ukrainian Canadian wedding attire. First, the wearing of a bridal headpiece in the shape of a *vinok* or wreath is a Ukrainian element (see Photo 29). Kunda (1998) provided an example of a *vinok*, which was worn by her informant: "The wreath was purchased from a flower shop and was specially designed to contain orange blossoms and *barvinok*. The majority of this particular *vinok* was made of orange blossom, which was one of the few small white flowers available in July. Only a small amount of *barvinok* was used in order to weave these flowers into a beautiful headpiece for the bride" (p. 4). Kunda explained that a *vinok* could also be made of daisies, poppies, and various other small flowers that are braided together.

Photo 29
Vinok headpiece; Embroidered attire
From McDonald, 1995, p. 14

Photo 30
Groom and groomsmen dressed in Ukrainian garb
From McDonald, 1995, p. 15

Second, according to McDonald, a more overt example of Ukrainianness in wedding attire is the dressing up in Ukrainian costumes, mostly at the wedding reception. The groomsmen may be dressed in the style of Cossacks while the bridesmaids can wear traditional Poltavsky costumes or the participants may vary the style of attire according to different regions of Ukraine. Photo 30 shows the groom and groomsmen dressed in Ukrainian garb (McDonald, 1995, p. 6).

Third, embroidery on shirts or the wedding dress (see Photo 29) can also be used as a Ukrainian symbol. The designs and objects chosen to be embroidered have some relation to Ukrainian culture. For example, poppies on the bride's dress can be considered a national flower of Ukraine, and the black detailing on the groom's coat is similar to the embroidery in the mountain regions of Ukraine (McDonald, 1995, p. 6).

Blahoslovennia (*blessing*)[10]

This is the parents' ritual blessing of the bride and groom. It usually takes place shortly before the wedding ceremony. It may be done separately for the bride at the home of her parents, and for the groom at the home of his parents, or it may be combined. Generally, the bride and groom kneel on a *rushnyk* in front of their parents and ask them to bestow a blessing for a long, healthy, happy and prosperous life. The parents bless their children with the *korovai* or *kolach*, occasionally each having a turn lifting it to touch the heads of the young couple (see Photo 31). Once the blessing is complete, according to each family tradition, those gathered together may sing "*Mnohaia lita*" (May God grant many happy years) for the bride and groom (Hong & Foty, 2002).

The method of blessing the bride and groom differs from family to family. This ritual has many variants according to each family's tradition or the situation in which the blessing is performed. Some perform this ritual in a living room (see Photo 32) while others perform it in the backyard of their home (see Photo 31, 33). Sometimes people speak Ukrainian, English, or both while holding icons and/or *korovai*, wrapped in *rushnyky* (see Photo 33), on the morning of the wedding day or on the night before. In spite of the various forms of blessing, the message that the ritual conveys seems to be same as that described above.

According to Ukrainian wedding traditions, the blessing was performed in each of the bride's and groom's homes in the morning. Then the groom and his entourage left for the bride's house. The groom and bride were blessed together by the bride's parents

Photo 31
The blessing: Touching the groom's head with a *korovai*
From Quentin and Julie Kyliuk (couple 26)

Photo 32
The blessing in a living room
From Bohdan and Jess Nahachewsky (couple 10)

Photo 33
The blessing in the backyard; icons and *korovai*, wraped by *rushnyk*
From Michael and Gena Kornylo (couple 11)

before the church service. Walter and Sonya (couple 5) received their blessing at Sonya's parents' house on the morning of their wedding day. Walter and Sonya would have liked to follow the traditional customs, but in order for the photographer to be able to photograph their blessing all at once, they decided to have it in Sonya's parents' house. Thus, Walter's parents blessed their son first, and Sonya's parents blessed their daughter next. Then both parents blessed the bride and groom together (see Photo 34-36).

Photo 34, 35, and 36
The blessing at the bride's house
From Walter and Sonya Wojtiw (couple 5)

Performing this blessing by the parents of the bride and groom before the church service is not compatible with the Canadian tradition of the bride and groom not seeing each other before the ceremony. The value placed on the Ukrainian tradition in comparison to the Canadian tradition will determine whether this ritual blessing occurs. Markiana and Yuriy (couple 17), who are an intra-ethnic couple, had two separate blessings before their wedding in order to follow both the Ukrainian and Canadian traditions. Since Markiana was aware of the Canadian custom of "not seeing each other," she decided to have two blessings. In the late evening of the night before the wedding day, Markiana's parents blessed the bride and groom together. This ceremony was a kind of rehearsal for the blessing the next day. However, the ritual was performed seriously as the real blessing. Then on the next day, the groom and his party visited his parent-in-laws' house to present the wedding bread. This time, Markiana's parents blessed Yuriy first with icons and then later Markiana after Yuriy had left for the church.

The blessing ritual is also sometimes performed in interethnic marriages. Depending on how much the other side of family values the tradition, the blessing is done for both the bride and groom or only within the Ukrainian family. One interethnic couple decided to have their blessing ritual together. Cherwick (1990) described an interethnic couple's ritual blessing:

> It [The blessing ritual] consisted of the parents blessing their children with two *kolachi*, obviously on an embroidered cloth, with salt, and with a large Ukrainian family Bible. The inclusion of the Bible, though not usually a part of this ritual, was probably due to the fact that the bride's father is a priest. The groom's mother also took part in this ritual, giving her blessing in English while the bride's parents gave their blessing in both Ukrainian and English. The bride's mother remarked at how moved all those present had been: "Ours [the Ukrainians] cried, but the English … [she imitated loud sobs] cried, the other people cried (Cherwick, 1990, p. 5).

Quentin (couple 26) was blessed by his parents and his godmother in his backyard before his wedding ceremony. Quentin's family regards the blessing as one of the most important wedding rituals. All of his family came to Edmonton from Saskatoon, bringing with them not only *korovai*, but also a Ukrainian music band for the blessing ritual. Even though his grandmother could not join the wedding, she listened on the phone to the ceremony. Quentin's parents asked the bride to join the blessing ritual. However, she could not do so because her morning schedule did not allow her to participate. Without the presence of the bride, Quentin's parents and his godmother blessed him. Then following their family tradition, they danced in a circle.

Travel to the church

The tradition of the wedding procession to the church varied throughout Ukraine. In some regions, the bride and groom usually went to the church together, whereas in other regions, they went separately.[11] The people might walk, ride in wagons, or go by horseback, depending on the distance to the church from the bride's home (Chubinskii, 1876, p. 262). Today, in Canada, the wedding party usually travels in a white wedding car often decorated with paper and plastic flowers. Sometimes the bride and groom separately rent limousines or other special vehicles for the occasion. They drive separately to a church or to another place for their wedding ceremony. Among my informants, only Quentin (couple 26) and his family walked from his home to the park where his wedding ceremony was to be held.

Marriage service at church

Pravdiuk (1970) claimed that the church ceremony was not related to the traditional rituals of the wedding (p. 22).[12] Ethnographic materials of the 19th and early 20th centuries contain almost no information about the church ceremony. Most information associated with the church service involves superstitions (Maruschak, 1985, p. 114). However, for the contemporary Ukrainian Canadian wedding, the wedding ceremony in a Ukrainian church is an important source for the display of Ukrainian symbols and ethnicity. Many married couples believed that their weddings were "Ukrainian" because of the church service, which includes Ukrainian elements.

In the old tradition, after the bride and groom had arrived at the church, they entered it together. The priest welcomed them in the rear vestibule of the church and blessed the wedding bands, placing them on the fingers of the bride and groom. After affirming that they were both entering this union freely and as equals, the bride and groom exchanged their rings and followed the priest to the altar for the religious ceremony.

Some changes have taken place in the church rituals. Some brides and grooms still enter the church together, but in other cases, the groom and groomsmen enter the church first and wait for the bridal party to come to the altar. The father may walk his daughter halfway down the aisle, or, occasionally, he may walk her all the way. The presence of a ring bearer and a flower girl is also an example of change in church rituals.

Most often, change does not involve the inclusion of Ukrainian aspects but the introduction of Canadian traditions into the Ukrainian church. One example is the use of the English language, a change that has occurred not only at wedding ceremonies, but at church services in general. One reason for this change was to make the church more accessible to more people. Another example is the unity candle, which symbolizes the bride and groom. The unity candle is a non-Ukrainian tradition that has been used in the traditional ceremony, whereby both families, usually the mother from each family, each light a separate candle. Then the bride and groom light a third candle from the two that their mothers lit. This action is a show of unity and of the bonding of two families into a new one.

One Ukrainian tradition that many choose not to follow, but that was initially imposed upon the bride and groom, is the wearing of the ring on the third finger of the right hand. In comparison, the Canadian tradition involves wearing the ring on the third finger of the left hand. Many couples switch the rings after the priest puts them on the right hand or may ask that he put them on the left hand.

In Ukrainian churches, during the ceremony, the *starosty* or special icon bearers carry the icons of Jesus and the Mother of God that will be placed in the home of the married couple and serve as the spiritual centre of the household. One of the most sacred and interesting parts of the church ceremony is the Crowning. The priest places crowns or wreaths on the heads of the bride and groom to signify the dawn of a new kingdom to be ruled by the couple. Then, the bride and groom kneel or stand on a *rushnyk*, place their right hands on the Gospel book. The priest uses an embroidered cloth, a *rushnyk*, to bind the hands of the bride and groom and leads them around the *tetrapod* (small altar) three times, symbolizing that God is at the centre of their marriage.

Even though the church service is strict, each church wedding can be slightly different depending on the priest's preferences for performing the service, the options that the priest presents to the bride and groom, and the suggestions that the bride and groom make to the priest.

Each priest may use a different style to perform rituals. Some are very strict and do not allow any options. Others are flexible enough to accept variants and suggestions as long as they do not undermine the principles of the church service. Some of my informants never learned about any options from their priest. Their service was performed in Ukrainian. In some cases, the priest allowed the bride and groom to decide upon the following options; (1) the service language – Ukrainian or/and English, (2) the choir – church choir or others, (3) how the bride walks down the aisle – with father/parents or with the groom, (4) crowning – crown or/and wreath, (5) tying hands and walking around the *tetrapod* three times, (6) the bride's special blessing, (7) covering the bride's head with a kerchief, and (8) others. Sometimes the bride and groom request their priest to allow them to include options in their service. Depending on which options are included, the wedding service varies.

On rare occasions, two priests from different churches perform the service together. Tim and Bailey (couple 19), who belong to different denominations, had a unique church service because two priests, one from the Ukrainian Catholic Church and one from the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, performed the ritual together. Tetyana and Steven (couple 27) had a Ukrainian and English bilingual service. Because Steven is not Ukrainian, Tetyana asked her priest to speak English to Steven and to speak Ukrainian to her.

Marriage services at other places

When a civil marriage service is held somewhere other than in a church, the bride and groom have more freedom to create their own ceremony. Some popular wedding locations are parks, botanic gardens, greenhouses, and ethnic community halls. To have a civil ceremony, the bride and groom have to contact a Justice of the Peace (JP). They should meet with him or her and discuss their ceremony in advance. A civil ceremony tends to be much shorter than a religious ceremony. However, in both cases, ethnic elements can be incorporated into the ceremony.

Grant and Karen (couple 13), who won a radio station's contest, married in the Western-style bar that was a sponsor of the contest. Since they had to marry in a bar, they tried to make the place meaningful in terms of their Ukrainian traditions. They brought *korovai,* embroidered cloths, and a Ukrainian choir and dance group. After the groom and bride had arrived at the bar, Grant was brought out to the front by his mother, where he stood on a *rushnyk*. Then the Ukrainian choir, *Verkhovyna*, started singing, and then the bridesmaids came down the aisle one by one. Finally, the bride walked with her father down the aisle.

Michael and Kara (couple 15) are another couple who were not married in a church. They had no religious faith when they married. Thus, they needed to find a person who would marry them. Michael did not want a JP, so he decided to have his friend's Lutheran minister perform their wedding. However, the ceremony itself was not religious. Around a hundred people sat on the chairs in Grant MacEwan Park near the Scottish Hall in Edmonton. While a guitar played, Michael's parents walked in with a flower girl. Then the bride came in with her parents. After introducing herself and the musician, the minister welcomed the families and friends to this day of celebration, and then introduced the witness. Even though Michael and Kara were not Christians at that time, the minister read a prayer. However, instead of using the Christian term "God" or "Jesus," the minister used "Spirit of Life, your creative power." Four of Michael and Kara's friends read readings not from the Bible, but from poetry and prose. Then the bride and groom spoke their marriage vows in turn and exchanged their rings. Finally, the minister declared Michael and Kara husband and wife: "On behalf of all gathered here, and with the authority vested in me by the Province of Alberta, I pronounce you husband and wife." The minister completed the ceremony with signing of registration forms, after the prayer and blessing. Michael and Kara were presented to family members and friends as a newly married couple and sang "Annie's song" with all the participants. After the ceremony, the bride and groom greeted and thanked people and then had some photos taken in the park.

Photographs

Practically, all couples document their marriage with photographs, a tradition that extends back a hundred years to when the practice became technologically feasible and affordable. This is evinced by many historical wedding photos in Canada and Ukraine since practically the turn of the 20th century. In most cases, special professional photographers are hired.

Several factors can be considered when choosing a wedding photographer. Some people are concerned mainly about artistic quality or economic factors while others are most concerned about ethnic factors. Michael and Gena (couple 11) hired a Ukrainian Canadian photographer because they wanted a photographer who knew their culture and tradition. Michael explained, "The important part, is that in church he knew exactly when certain events were happening. Normally, other photographers don't know that you go around the *tetrapod* three times." After the marriage ceremony and the party, families go to scenic settings or to a studio and get formal photos taken.

Wedding Reception

After the wedding photographs have been taken, the bride, groom, and the attendants leave by car to go to the wedding reception. The reception occurs in various places, depending on individual circumstances, finances, and other factors. By the 1960s, the Ukrainian community's hall had become a popular place for the wedding reception. Besides a Ukrainian community hall, a church hall is often used for the wedding reception. Many churches have a hall or are equipped for catering in the church basement. If the number of guests is small, the wedding reception can be held in a hotel or even in a restaurant.

Receiving line and cocktail party

About thirty minutes before the wedding reception, the cocktail party begins. Both sides' parents come earlier than the guests and welcome them, standing at the entrance of the reception hall. Sometimes the bride and groom as well as the whole wedding party join the receiving line and welcome their guests. In this case, one of the old Ukrainian rituals, *darovannia*, can be omitted.

The Blessing and greeting of the newlyweds[13]

The parents of both the bride and groom sometimes greet the couple and their wedding party by giving them bread and salt (see Photo 37) as they enter the reception hall. After the parents bless their children, they all share a toast, and the bride and groom toss some of the salt over their shoulders. However, each family performs this ritual in different ways.

Photo 37
Items for welcoming the bride and groom at the reception hall
From Wayne and Lorraine Afred (couple 23)

Some eat a piece of ritual bread and drink a glass of vodka (see Photo 38) while other just kiss the *korovai* or *kolach* (see Photo 39). This ritual is often performed before the bride and groom enter the hall. In some cases, the blessing ritual is done in the middle of the hall, in order that people can see the ritual. At Tim and Bailey's (couple 19) wedding, the bride's mother held a *korovai* while two little girls from both sides carried salt at the entrance of the hall. After the MC introduced them, they entered the hall and walked to the front. Instead of performing blessing ritual, the Master of Ceremonies explained the meaning and purpose of the rituals.

Photo 38
The Welcoming ritual: drinking vodka
From Lawrence and Elieen Radesh
(couple 4)

Photo 39
The welcoming ritual: kissing the *korovai*
From Orest and Anna Fialka (couple 2)

The musicians

The musicians are an essential part of a Ukrainian wedding. They are generally a violinist, an accordionist, a drummer, and a *cymbaly* (an instrument of the hammered dulcimer) player. An electronic guitarist can also join the band, replacing the *cymbaly* player. When the couple enters the hall, the musicians usually stop whatever music they are playing and begin a traditional Ukrainian wedding march. Following a signal from the musicians, the bridal couple and their attendants enter the hall and are greeted by the guests, who clap their hands. Throughout the evening, the musicians play various kinds of music: waltzes, polkas, and rock-and-roll. Certain musicians often may the bride and groom if they want them to wear Ukrainian costumes. Sometimes, without being asked to do so, the musicians wear traditional costumes and bring Ukrainian embroidery in which their band's name is written (see Photo 40, 41). Photo 40 reflects the special significance of the location of the musicians. Traditionally, they play at the entrance to the hall. While they are playing, the guests usually give them money, as the guests are doing in this photo.

Photo 40
The musicians wearing Ukrainian costumes
From Jerry and Irene Kolomijchuk (couple 1)

Photo 41
A band name "Trembita" written
on an embroidered *rushnyk*
From Mark and Lloyanne Galas (couple 8)

Vecheria (*supper*)

Before the main program begins, a large supper is served for all the participants. When a hall is booked, the food is also decided upon because a hall usually has its own caterers. The bride and groom usually choose Ukrainian food, often consisting of such items as chicken, *holubtsi* (cabbage rolls), *kulesha*, *pyrohy*, *borshch*, and broth with meat. A free bar is often provided at a Ukrainian Canadian wedding for the hundreds of guests gathered for the occasion. The food varies from hall to hall, as particular cooks and crews develop different specialties, but the food tends to be traditional and often has a symbolic connection with Ukrainian identity.

The choice of food reflects a change from typical Canadian fare to that which is much more ethnic. Many Canadians who have no relation to the Ukrainian tradition may include some of Ukrainian foods in their wedding dinner, as they have become popular among the general public. Some examples of these foods are *pyrohy* and *holubtsi*. Canadians' inclusion of these items may be based on preference over tradition, while at a Ukrainian wedding, tradition and custom may be of more importance. Other foods that are also part of Ukrainian culture and that may be served at a wedding include cornmeal and *kovbasa* (Ukrainian sausage). Some of my informants identified their wedding as "Ukrainian" based on the fact that it included Ukrainian food.

Official program: Speech and perepii[14]

Toasts to the bride and groom usually take place about half way through the evening. The use of the Ukrainian language at the reception during the greeting, speeches, and toasts, etc. also indicates the depth of the couple's Ukrainianness. If the bride and/or groom cannot understand the language, then its use will be limited.

At a wedding with Ukrainian elements in it, one might hear the song "Mnohaia Lita." Although this song may not be requested by the bride and groom, it may be initiated by the audience. If the bride and groom understand that the singing of this song is a Ukrainian tradition, they may expect it to be sung.

Slideshow

Today, a slideshow in the middle of the wedding reception has become very popular. The slideshow takes place during or right after the official program, to share the personal history of the bride and groom with the guests. One or two friends of the couple select old and recent photos as well as short video clips to present the couple's life stories. In some cases, Ukrainian elements are also incorporated in the presentation. For example, Quentin's (couple 26) friend prepared a slideshow called "The Big Fat Ukrainian Wedding." The title was adapted from the movie *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, which was a big box-office hit in 2002. The slideshow started with a male voice speaking Ukrainian, and then Ukrainian *kolomyika* music followed. The comic combination of

Ukrainian and English in the title reflected the groom's mixed Ukrainian-Canadian ethnic identity (see Photo 42).

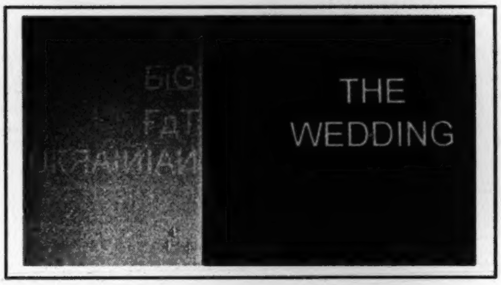


Photo 42
A slide show title: [My] big fat Ukrainian wedding
From Quentin and Julie Kyliuk (couple 26)

Cake Cutting

Shortly after the formal program, a cake-cutting ritual is performed. The old tradition included a ritual of *korovai* cutting and distributing pieces to the guests, but today, the *korovai* cutting is replaced by cake cutting. However, the bride and groom incorporate Ukrainian elements into their wedding cake.

Eileen's (couple 4) wedding cake was made by her mother and decorated by a Ukrainian cake decorator. Eileen took a photo of her Ukrainian church in Two Hills and then asked a woman in Stony Plain to make a replica of this church out of bon glass. She then gave the replica to the cake decorator to put it on the top of the wedding cake. In order to emphasize Ukrainian religious aspects at her wedding, she wanted to have a Bible with her and her husband's names as a decoration on the bottom part of the wedding cake.

Tetyana's (couple 27) blue wedding cake was pentagonal in shape and had white decorative swans and flowers. She ordered it from a Polish bread store because this store makes a homemade style of cake similar to that in Ukraine. Each layer was decorated with two swans whose backs were joined together as well as with some of the flowers from her home area. A few white orchids were put on the top, and blue orchids decorated each side of the cake.

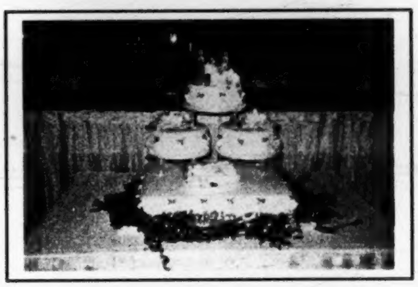


Photo 43
A wedding cake decorated with a replica of Ukrainian church
From Lawrence and Eileen Radesh (couple 4)

Grant and Karen (couple 14) had an artificial wedding cake, incorporating Ukrainian themes on it.[15] It had two layers supported by two pillars with Ukrainian embroidery around them. Each layer of the cake was also designed with Ukrainian embroidery. The top of the first layer was decorated with yellow flowers and a swan made of wheat, while the top of the second layer was decorated with two bells and doves in a ring also made of wheat. Grant's *baba* made the dough doves while his mother made the rest of the wheat ornaments. Ukrainian embroideries were purchased from the local Ukrainian bookstore. Karen's aunt, who was a cake decorator, gave Grant and Karen the basic form of a cake, and then they decorated it.

Lorraine's (couple 23) mother made an artificial wedding cake (see Photo 45). It was a white wedding cake with three layers and a big flower on the top. Lorraine and her mother looked through books and chose the elements that they wanted to incorporate into her wedding cake. In order to incorporate Ukrainian elements into it, they used *barvinok* leaves to decorate the cake and also added flowers on the top of the middle and top layers.

Photo 44
A wedding cake decorated with Ukrainian elements
From Grant and Karen McDonald (couple 14)

Photo 45
A wedding cake decorated with *barvinok* leaves
From Wayne and Lorraine Alfred (couple 23)

First dance, social dance and stage dance

The married couple typically dances by themselves for the first dance, usually a waltz or, more recently, a slow popular love song in any meter, selected by the couple. Then, the bridal party joins in for the second dance, and the parents of both the bride and groom join for the third dance. For the first dance, some couples practice a choreographed dance with a dance teacher for one or two months. The bride and groom can choose a song that has a very special meaning for them or a song that is just easy to dance to. A Ukrainian song is often a choice not only for the first dance but also for the dance with the parents if they are Ukrainian. The choice of a Ukrainian song can express the bride and groom's respect for their parents.

After the first three dances have been completed, the dance floor is open to all of the guests for the remainder of the evening. The participants usually dance voluntarily in couples, and occasionally in threesomes for the butterfly or in foursomes for the schottische, and in larger groups for the *kolomyika*. Since the 1960s, a specific

Canadianized form of the *kolomyika* has became popular. People perform this dance in a large circle, often surrounded by rings of less active participants. While most people stand and clap, a series of soloists perform various dance steps in the centre of the circle (Nahachewsky, 1991; Nahachewsky, 1994, p. 76).

Besides the social dancing, a Ukrainian stage dance is sometimes performed by a group invited to perform as a gift for the bride and groom. This dance performance provides a strong symbol of the Ukrainian community and national identity.

Darovannia (*the presentation of gifts*)

Around nine o'clock or later, the presentation of gifts takes place. All the guests line up to extend their best wishes and to present the bride and groom with their gifts and cash. Parents, relatives and close friends usually come forth first, and then the rest of the guests and attendants follow. Some give small gifts like towels, cups, and dishes, while others give money.

Photo 46
Darovannia (the presentation of gifts)
From Dennis and Dian Kuchta (couple 6)

Besides the presentation of gifts from the guests to the newlyweds, another ritual has also been performed in recent years, the giving of gifts or wedding favors to the guests. The wedding favor is a symbolic memento given to friends and relatives at the reception in appreciation of their help and support during the wedding. These favors sometimes include a small card or tag with a thank-you note, and thereby replace the thank-you card that used to be mailed to the guests after the wedding. Many traditional Canadian wedding favors include chocolates or wrapped mints or almonds, and can be as elaborate as crystal or ceramic works. The Ukrainianization of these wedding favors has taken the form of refrigerator magnets in the shape of *vinoks*, various designs of woven wheat, small dough doves like those on the *korovai*, and mini *korovai's*.

Tossing the bouquet and garter

At approximately midnight when the festivities came to a close, the bride throws away her bouquet. The bride and groom go up on stage. First, the bride throws away a part of her bouquet to all the single girls at the wedding, who have been asked to assemble in front of the stage. The bride turns away and throws her flowers backward over her shoulder. Whoever catches the bouquet is said to be next in line to get married. The groom takes a garter off the bride's leg and throws it to all the single men who have lined up to receive it. The lucky male who catches the garter has a good chance of being the next one to get married. By this time, the bride may be in her "going away" attire, which is a two-piece-dress and matching coat outfit. The bride and groom thank the people for attending and leave for a hotel.

Nuptial bed in a "honeymoon suite"

The reception usually ends at some point after midnight. In some instances, the bride and groom remain to celebrate until the end of the reception, and in others, they leave at an earlier time. The bride and groom commonly stay in the "honeymoon suite" of a hotel on their wedding night.

3.3 The Post-Wedding Phase

Popravyny (*The post-wedding party*) [16]

The post-wedding ceremonies are called *popravyny* in the Edmonton area. Recently, the post-wedding reception or brunch has been often prepared for a smaller number of people than those who attended the wedding itself. Close friends, relatives and guests who come to the wedding from out-of-town tend to be invited.

Unwrapping the gifts

This new custom, the ritual of unwrapping the gifts, happens on the day after the wedding, when family and friends gather at the *popravyny*. The main focus for some is watching the bride and groom unwrap their gifts, which range from money to household goods.

Mock Wedding[17]

A mock wedding can take place at the *popravyny*. In Canada, this tradition has been maintained primarily in Saskatchewan. Some of my informants came from there, and one of them had a mock wedding in his wedding. After the gift opening, the bride and groom had a mock wedding performed by their friends. This ritual was one of Michael's (couple 11) family traditions. Six actors took part playing, a pregnant bride, her groom, her bridesmaid, the groom's man (usually the groom's man pretends to be an old man with a cane), the priest, and a little flower girl. The males and females changed roles and dressed up comically. The priest asked the pregnant bride such foolish questions as the following: "Will you vacuum all the floors, clean all the dishes, wash the laundry, and give six children to him?" Then the bride answered, "Ah no! I don't want to! Oh, yeah, I do." During the ceremony, the bride suddenly gave birth to a baby. Others tried to pull the baby from her and finally, she gave birth to a bunch of beets instead of a baby. Later, the bride threw a bouquet of flowers and vegetables while the groom threw a "garter" that was a rubber ring. This mock wedding ended up with the actors dancing with the real bride and groom and others. The actors spoke half Ukrainian and half English, so only Ukrainian people could laugh at some parts of the performance. Michael's mother planned it and Michael has actually done many mock weddings for other weddings.

Photo 47
Mock wedding: a pregnant bride

Photo 48
Mock wedding: bouquet throwing

From Michael and Gena Kornylo (couple 11)

This period of revelry and chaotic entertainment by the bridal party and/or friends and family of the young couple is meant to function as a parody of the actual wedding from the previous day. Specific incidents that occur in the actual wedding are dramatized and parodied as part of the mock wedding. Such an event is meant to "turn the world upside-down" and provide the guests with raucous improvised entertainment. In essence, it complements the traditional wedding as a "folk drama," as it commonly follows a basic formula (sometimes specific to the region or community) in an extra-ordinary, non-everyday fashion.

Abduction

This ritual can be related to *pereima* (interception) ceremony of the old Ukrainian wedding tradition. In Ukraine, when the groom and his entourage arrived at the bride's home for *vesillia*, they took part in *peremia* ceremony. When the groom's party approached the bride's house, the bride's male relatives and neighbours attempted to stop the groom's procession to indicate their unwillingness hand over the bride. Symbolic fighting and numerous negotiations between both sides took place (Pravdiuk, 1970, p. 25). Only after the groom paid the price for the bride, could the groom and his party enter the bride's home. Once the groom entered the house, he had to bargain with the bride's brothers to sit beside the bride.

Several couples practiced similar rituals at their weddings. For example, after the mock wedding, Michael and Gena (couple 11) had an abduction ritual. Some of the groomsmen kidnapped Gena and ask Michael for ransom.[18] This event was a tradition in Gena's family. Michael had witnessed this event several times in Saskatoon, but according to him, it was not very common there. The men who had kidnapped the bride called Michael and gave him a list of the things that they wanted. They asked him for two bottles of vodka, three rings of *kovbassa*, an unmarried female's underwear, and a happy meal from Macdonald's for the bride. The kidnappers did not release Gena until Michael had satisfied all their demands.

Photo 49
Abduction
From Michael and Gena Kornylo (couple 11)
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Notes

[1] *Dopyty* was the ceremony of inquiries. Once the prospective bride had been selected, the preliminary representatives of the groom and his family were chosen and sent to the prospective bride's home to determine the acceptability of their marriage proposal. *Svatannia* was the ceremony of matchmaking. Through this rite, the bride's and the groom's families confirmed the union of two families and discussed further arranagements for the wedding. *Ohliadyny* was the custom that provided the bride's family with an opportunity to verify the groom's economic situation. *Zmovyny* was the ceremony that finalized the marriage contract and arranged the details of the wedding. *Zaruchyny* was the final pre-wedding ceremony, when the marriage agreement was publically established between the two families (Maruschak, 1985, pp. 34-38).

[2] The invitation rite [*zaprosyny*] was separately performed a day before the wedding by the bride and groom, along with their *druzhky* and *boiary* (Shubravs'ka, 1970, p. 216; Zdoroveha, 1974, pp. 84-86; Chubinskii, 1876, p. 134). *Zaprosyny* followed a specific procedure. For example, the bride and her party entered a house, the bride bowed to each person in the home, and one of the druzhky put a ritual loaf on the table (Chubinskii, 1876, p. 134). The bride and *druzhky* then recited the invitation three times, saying, "My father and mother invite you, and I invite you for bread, salt, and to the wedding" (Vovk, 1995, p. 241). Once the invitation had been recited, gifts were given to the bride. Then the bride and her party went to the next house.

[3] Various terms were used to refer to the wedding tree. According to Borysenko, *hil'tse* was used in Kyiv, Chernihiv, Zhytomyr, Kirovohrad, Odesa, Cherkassy, Voroshylovhrad, and Zaporizhia region, while *derevtse* or *rais'ke derevtse* was used in Ivano-Frankivsk, and Chernivtsi region. Besides *hil'tse* and *derevtse*, *divuvannia* (Dnipropetrovsk and Kharkiv), *vil'tse*, *iolka*, *ioltse*, *terentse*, *shyshka*, or *rozshynshka* (Zhytomir, Rivne, and Kherson region), and *rizka*, *sosonka*, *teremka* (L'viv and Khmelnytsky region) (Borysenko, 1988, p. 63).

[4] According to Zdoroveha, the groom had the responsibility to provide the bride with a branch for the *hil'tse* (1974, p. 87). The branch was chosen from a pine, fir, cherry, apple, or pear tree (Zdoroveha, 1974, p. 87; Pravdiuk, 1970, p. 20; Chubinskii, 1876, p. 99).

[5] On a Friday or Saturday, the *korovai* were prepared along with other ritual breads. For more information, see Verkhovynets', 1914, p. 220; Chubinskii, 1876, p. 215, 604; Demchenko, 1903, p. 145)

[6] Among many sources, Maruschak's master's thesis (1985, pp. 64-74) provided detailed and extensive information related to *korovai* and other ritual breads.

[7] According to Zdoroveha (1974), *divech vechir* gave the bride an opportunity to bid farewell to the youth of the village. Borysenko (1988) explained that the groom also had a similar ritual with the groom's friends.

[8] In the Old Country, the first rite of preparation on Sunday morning began with the ritual of unplaiting the braid. This ritual was performed with the attendance of the bride's family, *druzhka*, and neighbours to confirm that the entire community agreed to give her in marriage (Maruschak, 1985, p. 106). The bride was

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seated on a bench covered with a pillow, furs, or a table-cloths. Then the *starosty* blessed the bride. After the blessing, the bride's brother began to unplait the bride's braid. Once it had been unplaited, the *druzhky* combed her hair and sang songs. Then the hair was adorned with coins, bread, crumbs, and garlic cloves, which were believed to have magical power. The bride's hair was braided again and placed on her head in the from of a wreath. Once this ceremony had finished, the bride was dressed in a traditional wedding costume. More information can be obtained in the following literature: Chubinskii, 1876, pp. 251-252; Pravdiuk, 1970, p. 22; Zdoroveha, 1974, pp. 97-98.

[9] After the groom had dressed in his wedding attire, which included the embroidered shirt given to him by the bride, he was required to take part in the *proshchi* (forgiveness ceremony). First, the groom's parents blessed him with bread, salt, and an icon. Then the *starosta* led the groom by means of a kerchief into the yard, where the groom bowed to and kissed every person present. By doing so, he received a symbolic pardon from his entire family for any past transgressions (Shcherbakivs'kyi, 1952-1953, p. 334; Chubinskii, 1876, p. 250; as cited in Maruschak, 1985, p. 108). Only after this ritual, could the groom and his entourage leave for the bride's house. Before they left, the groom's mother blessed the groom with holy water, while the chorus sang.

[10] The procedure for this ritual varied throughout Ukraine (Zdoroveha, 1974, 98). This ritual began with the bride's and groom's families sitting on benches at the bride's house. Once seated, everyone was given a loaf of bread on his or her lap. "Then starosta recited a phrase: As these two children stand before their own mother, before their own father, before their uncles, before their godparents; maybe they took something from someone; maybe they did not listen to one of you, I ask you to forgive them and bless them" (Roshkevych, 1970, pp. 73-125; as cited in Maruschak, 1985, p. 109). Once the *starosta* had finished his recitation, the family members repeat "*Bih sviatyi*" (May the Holy God [forgive and bless you]) three times (Maruschak). Then the couple bowed to their parents three times and kissed their faces, hands, and feet thrice (Roshkevych, 1970, pp. 84-85).

[11] During the wedding procession, musicians usually played music and the entourage sang songs about the upcoming ceremony. After the church ceremony, the bride and groom went to their own homes (Zdoroveha, 1974, p. 103). In some cases, the groom went to the bride's home, had supper, and went back his home. Then he went with his entourage to the bride's house for *vesillia* (Pravdiuk, 1970, p. 23).

[12] Ukrainian folklorists had interest in non-official, non-elite rituals of potentially very ancient origins until the beginning of Soviet period. However, the Soviets furthered the academic tradition of ignoring religious elements because of their atheistic bias.

[13] In the old tradition, the ritual of greeting and blessing the bride and/or groom occurred on several occasions. When the groom and his procession arrived at the bride's home for *vesillia*, the bride's mother greeted the groom, offering him a drink of oats and water on the threshold of the bride's home. Then, the bride's and the groom's *svakhy*, who were supplied with bread, salt, and a lighted candle, placed their feet on the threshold, joined the flames of their candles, kissed, and exchanged bread (Zdoroveha, 1974, p. 112; as cited in Maruschak, 1985, p. 124). Another greeting ritual occurred when the bride and groom went to

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the groom's house after *vesillia*. According to Zdoroveha (1974), the groom's mother wore a sheepskin coat and held a kneading table, covered with a kerchief and grain. Shcherbakivs'kyi (1970) explained that the groom's father held bread and salt (p. 341). After the couple bowed to the parents, the father blessed the newlyweds and mother sprinkled grain behind them, wishing for the couple's wealth, health, fertility and happiness (Maruschak, 1985, p. 137). Today, these blessing and greeting rituals seemed to have been reshaped and are performed at the reception hall.

[14] In Ukraine, on Monday, the after the wedding day, the celebration of the consummation of the marriage continued. The bride's family was invited into the groom's house, and a supper was served in their honor. Then *perepii*, a gift-giving ceremony, took place (Vovk, 1995, p. 311; as cited in Maruschak, 1985, p. 168). The couple approached each guest to offer a drink and the guest, in turn, gave the couple a gift while drinking a toast to the couple's health (Roshkevych, 1970, p. 119). In Canda, *perepii* tends to involve offering a drink and toast while *darovannia* is for a gift-giving rite.

[15] It is common to have an artificial cake in western Canada. It may be because people can easily decorate the cake and also because an artificial cake is cheaper than a real cake.

[16] *Perezva* was the term for the post-wedding party in Ukraine. However, in Canada, *popravyny* is used for the term.

[17] The origin of this ritual may be traced to the *tsyhanshchyna* (Gypsy raids), which took place on Tuesday after the wedding. For the *tsyhanshchyna*, a group of men dressed up in costumes went throughout the village, stopping at the home of each wedding guest (Zdoroveha, 1974, p. 128). According to Kononenko (1999), this ritual was meant to turn the world upside-down and provide the guests with raucous improvised entertainment. Foty's (2004) master's thesis provided a detailed study of Ukrainian Canadian mock weddings in Saskatchewan.

[18] This is an adaptation of the tradition. At first it was the groom and his accomplices that abducted the bride.

Chapter 4: Ritual

In this chapter I focus on the symbols of Ukrainian identity used in Ukrainian Canadian weddings, as well as on the process by which Ukrainian Canadians learn, modify, and transmit these symbols. The interaction with the members of one's own ethnic group and one's response to the cultural values of other groups lead to the evolution of symbols and strategies (Stern and Cicala, 1991, p. xi). In this chapter, I discuss the cultural context in which Ukrainian Canadians adapt traditional symbols to new settings or invent new forms for strategic incorporation into their culture. This creative flexibility suggests that ethnicity can be a dynamic and evolving force in Ukrainian Canadian life rather than a conservative grouping of old and outmoded practices.

This chapter consists of three parts. The first part involves a discussion of the Ukrainian symbols that Ukrainian Canadians attempt to incorporate into their wedding rituals. I explore why and how these symbols are chosen. In the second part, I discuss tradition and innovation, explaining how Ukrainian Canadians adapt tradition to new settings and create new forms of it. The third part surveys four different types of wedding rituals in which the bride and groom as well as their families or communities express their ethnic identification.

4.1. Ukrainian symbols

Leeds-Hurwitz (2002) explained that a symbol can be grouped together with other symbols and understood as part of a larger whole: a social code. Just as symbols combine into social codes, social codes also combine to form a larger unit, a culture.

> All cultures have the ability to make use of the same types of social codes (i.e. every culture makes use of food, clothing, objects, language, and music). What changes are the specific symbols used by each culture to convey meaning within each social code. That is, people do not eat the same foods the world over, and when they do, they do not cook the foods in the same way. One implication is that people who are raised within one culture will find every other culture to be a bit disorienting, at the very least. (This feeling of disorientation is technically termed culture shock.) (p. 88)

Numerous scholars have discussed the importance of visible symbols, especially physical objects. Leeds-Hurwitz (2002) claimed that the existence of a community is marked through physical means because members of different communities most often act, think, and believe in different ways. She believed that nonverbal aspects of communication can serve to mark the boundary lines of communities. People who share foods, clothes, and objects with others are making a statement – a concrete, physical statement, visible to all – about having something in common (p. 26). Leeds-Hurwitz's study indicates that ethnic identification can be expressed through these visible marks.

Dorson (1982) provided the basic logic for studying the role of material culture in celebrations, emphasizing its symbolic importance in human life (pp. 33-57). Objects can provide "an alternate form of biography" (Hoskins, 1998, p. 198). Hoskins stated that the same objects serve to teach our children the family history that occurred before they were born and, simultaneously, to help them to design a wedding ritual when they marry in turn. Both during a ceremony and after it is long over, material elements, being more concrete than language, play significant roles and should not be ignored: "Objects are references people use to tangibly outline the worlds they know, the ones they try to cope with, and those they aspire to or imagine" (Bronner, 1985, p. 14). Leeds-Hurwitz (2002) noted that objects do not stand alone with their meaning visible for anyone to see, but are assigned meanings by people. These meanings are not revealed by study unless we as researchers include the people and their use of objects in our investigations. We study objects as one way of investigating the construction of the social world; we learn to interpret objects via the people who give them meaning (p. 148).

Isajiw (1984) also discussed the relationship between symbols and culture: "culture is a faleric [sic] made up of symbols and the symbols are of a group's experience. Thus in its central sense culture is the symbolic pattern of a way of life of a community of people" (p. 119). That is, culture is not a way of life in all its experiential concreteness. Rather, culture is a way of life in its idealized form, idealized through symbolizing, which gives the concrete experience meaning and value. Isajiw divided symbols into two types: external (visible) and internal (invisible):

> External symbols refer to behaviour patterns or products of behaviour patterns that are intended for others to perceive. Among them are dances, community gatherings, pictorial presentations, linguistic presentations (books or drama), art objects and the like. . . . [I]nternal symbols are intended to be intellectually or intuitively understood and appreciated rather than simply observed. They include beliefs, values, feelings and ideas, for example, religious beliefs; political or social values such as the value of democracy; legends, mythology or the history of a specific group and the feelings of group commitment. (p. 120)

Based on these studies on symbols, I focus mainly on material culture in wedding rituals. I try to interpret visible symbols via the people who give them meaning in a social context. Thus, my questions to people focused not only on what objects people had included in their weddings, but also on why and how people had chosen and incorporated them. Furthermore, I also pay attention to dances, community gatherings, pictorial presentations, linguistic presentations, and the like.

4.1.1. Reasons for incorporating Ukrainian symbols

People can express their ethnic identification through ethnic symbols for many reasons. According to Gans (1979), a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of the immigrant generation, or to that of the old country, and love for and pride in a tradition can be major reasons for using ethnic symbols (pp. 204-205):

> The feelings can be directed at a generalized tradition, or at specific ones; a desire for the cohesive extended immigrant family, or the obedience of children to parental authority or the unambiguous orthodoxy of immigrant religion. . . . People may even sincerely desire to 'return' to these imagined pasts, which are conveniently cleansed of the complexities that accompanied them in the real past, but while they may soon realize that they cannot go back, they may not surrender the wish. Or else they displace that wish on churches, schools, and the mass media, asking them to recreate a tradition, or rather, to create a symbolic tradition, even while their familial, occupational, religious, and political lives are pragmatic response to the imperatives of their roles and positions in local and national hierarchical social structure. (Gans, 1979, pp. 204-205)

Based on the responses I obtained in interviews, I propose four reasons why my informants expressed themselves through ethnic symbols.

Being proud of one's ethnic heritage and past

As Gans (1979) stated, children of immigrants may feel a nostalgic allegiance to the culture of their parents or grandparents and feel love for and pride in the old tradition of the ancestral homeland (p. 204). Without such pride, the desire to perpetuate tradition rapidly diminishes (Driedger, 1989, p. 146). Many of my informants who have belonged to cultural organizations explained that membership in them was a very natural way to express their ethnic identification through ethnic symbols as a way of respecting their heritage and culture.

For example, Michael's (couple 11) activity in Ukrainian organizations started right from *sadochok* (kindergarten). He was an altar boy in a Ukrainian church and sang in Ukrainian children's choirs. Later on, he served on the executive of the Ukrainian Catholic Youth Organization at both the parish and national levels. He has also been in a *bandurist* group in Saskatoon. He said, "It wasn't really forced, I guess they [his parents] just wanted [me] to continue learning language and culture, I just did it . . . sometimes I didn't want to go dancing, but . . . in adult life I start to realize that I really want to obtain that and keep the culture. . . ."

Michael and his wife, Gena, did not have any official engagement ceremony. However, they posed for a special black and white photograph a few days before their wedding. In the picture, Gena and Michael are in traditional Ukrainian shirts, and Michael holds a traditional instrument, a *bandura*. When asked why he wore a traditional costume and held a *bandura*, Michael said, “It’s just being a little bit proud of it. I don’t know . . . to me it is just natural to do it that way.”

Respecting one’s family

One of the main reasons why my informants incorporated Ukrainian symbols into their weddings was to respect their (grand) parents and family, even though my informants themselves might not have thought that these symbols were important.

For example, Karen and Grant (couple 14) married on Valentine’s Day in 2001. They won a prize from a radio station and had all wedding costs paid for them on the condition that they would get married on Feb. 14, 2001. The radio station provided all wedding materials from the wedding dress to the wedding hall, which was a Western-style bar. Grant’s *baba* (grandmother) was very upset when she was told that Karen and Grant were going to marry in a bar. She said, “What do you mean, you marry in a bar?” She could not understand and was disappointed because she always wanted them to marry in a church. As a result, Karen tried to satisfy Grant’s grandmother, putting more Ukrainian elements into their wedding: “Personally myself, I think I was more conscious of the Ukrainian elements to put into it because of her. My *baba* was like whatever, where you want to get married, you can get married, it is always good, you know. Here, his *baba* is more traditional than mine. So I didn’t do things for myself, but I thought about her a lot. . . . We wanted our family to be proud of the event. So *baba* was really in my head a lot. . . . So if she liked it, in my mind everybody will also like it.”

Representing individual identity

To represent who they are as individuals, the bride and/or the groom can use Ukrainian symbols and elements.

Eileen (couple 4), who had been a member of a Ukrainian dance group for years, was expecting her dance group "Dunai" to perform at her wedding and cried when this group did so. Many people at her wedding did not know about her dance group. Thus, Eileen believed that these people could understand her better by watching the group dance. It made her feel proud of herself: "The pride … all my *babas* and *didos* (grandfathers), I knew that they would like that part . . . having my dance group there. . . . Not everybody knows all aspects of the person's life. Because my close friends and families were at our wedding, I shared a piece of me that they may have not known about. That was my Ukrainian dancing. And that was a good feeling."

Providing variety and amusement for the guests

Some of my informants paid attention to the social function of the wedding rituals. They believed that they had to entertain their guests as well as they could. Adding ethnic elements into the wedding was a way of providing more variety for the guests.

Richard and Sunea (couple 25), who have Ukrainian and Korean ancestry respectively, planned to have Ukrainian and Korean dance performances because they would be interesting and meaningful for guests. Richard said, "Like the reception part, it wasn't for us at all, I wanted our guests to have an interesting thing which was never seen before. Ukrainians have never seen Korean dance and Korean traditional culture and the same thing with the Koreans. They've never seen Ukrainian dance unless they saw Shumka dance. So I wanted to do that and we had such a good response after the wedding. Everybody was so amazed at what we did."

Limitations

Ukrainian symbols are not always welcomed and used as an expression of ethnicity. In some cases, for certain reasons, people do not want to use certain symbols. Firstly, people often give up a symbol that they regard as meaningless. For example, a Ukrainian Canadian woman married a man of French ancestry. She had a relatively traditional Ukrainian wedding, incorporating several Ukrainian traditions and elements. However, she did not have *vinkopletennia* (wreath-making). Her mother said it would not be practical because a traditional *vinkopletennia* would be performed the day before the wedding. Also, her mother thought it might be "too much" for those who did not know Ukrainian songs. Including a traditional *vinkopletennia* in the wedding would have been nice, but her mother and she thought it was a meaningless ritual and too time-consuming (Cherwick, 1990, p. 35).

Secondly, if a Ukrainian symbol conflicts with a Canadian or any other symbol, the symbol is sometimes avoided or changed in form. The Ukrainian ritual of blessing the bride and groom prior to the ceremony is included in some Canadian weddings. This ritual blessing by the parents of the bride and groom conflicts in part with the Canadian tradition of the bride and groom not seeing each other before the ceremony. Depending on how much the Ukrainian tradition is valued in comparison with the Canadian tradition, the couple must choose whether or not to perform this ritual blessing. Those who do not much value the blessing tradition follow the Canadian tradition. Others try to change its form in order to follow both the Ukrainian and Canadian traditions. Markiana and Yuriy (couple 17) had two separate blessings before their wedding. Since Markiana was aware of the Canadian custom about "not seeing each other," she decided to have two blessings.

In the late evening of the night before the wedding day, Markiana's parents blessed her and Yuriy together. This blessing was a kind of practice for the blessing the next day. However, all of them performed the ritual as seriously as they did at the real blessing. Then next day, the groom and his party visited his parent-in-laws' house to present wedding bread. This time, Markiana's parents blessed Yuriy first with icons and after Yuriy left for the church, blessed Markiana. Thus, Markiana did not see Yuriy until their marriage service at the church.

Thirdly, if Ukrainian symbols are too expensive, people avoid them or limit their numbers. For example, even though Ukrainian foods are very popular symbols at Ukrainian Canadian weddings, many couples limit the number of Ukrainian foods on the menu for economic reasons. Another kind of symbol at many Ukrainian Canadian weddings is an open bar. However, it is also subject to the wedding host's financial ability.

Fourthly, if a symbol does not match with the aesthetic values or tastes of contemporary Ukrainian Canadians, the symbol is not included. The white wedding dress has become a predominant choice for the most Ukrainian Canadian brides. Thus, nowadays, the bride very rarely wears traditional wedding attire at the marriage ceremony, not because the traditional wedding attire is not beautiful, but because the aesthetic values of people have changed. People prefer a white wedding dress. Some brides add a Ukrainian feature to the traditional Canadian wedding attire, by wearing a bridal headpiece in the shape of *vinok* or wreath. However, others choose not to wear a headpiece at all.

Thus, a wide range of considerations affects the decision whether to incorporate or not to incorporate ethnic symbols into a wedding.

4.1.2 Sources of Ukrainian symbols

Ukrainian Canadians learn about Ukrainian symbols from a variety of sources. Those symbols are also classified into several types. Driedger (1989) proposed a typology of criteria and principles to measure ethnic identify retention. He distinguished six factors of ethnic identification: identification with a territory, ethnic institutions, ethnic culture, historical symbols, ideology and charismatic leadership (pp. 143-148). His typology provides this study with a good basis for classifying the sources and types of ethnic symbols. His first four factors plus several others are adapted for my own purposes here.

Family traditions

Rituals provide a vehicle for the "transmission of family culture across generations" (Troll, 1988, p. 628). One of the popular sources for obtaining Ukrainian symbols or elements is family tradition. In many cases, my informants responded that they did not know when a family tradition started and where it was from, but they believed that it was a Ukrainian tradition because their families or friends had included it in their wedding.

Greg and Luba (couple 3), who married in 1989, had a ritual in which four family members presented five objects to wish them the best of luck in their wedding: "We give you gold so that your married life will glitter as it does and that together you will be wealthy and live in affluence. We give you garlic so that you are as healthy as it is and to protect you from all evil. We give you honey so that your married life may be as sweet as it is, and especially that you stick to each other in happiness and sorrow. And lastly we give you the most important gift of all – we give you a small piece of bread and an ear of wheat and rye with the wish that your family live and be fruitful in the embraces of life and prosperity." Mark, who is a relative of Luba, also received a presentation of five elements at his wedding. However, his case elements were gold, earth, honey, wheat, and salt. Mark assumed that such a toast is a Ukrainian tradition because his family usually performed it at its weddings. Considering that this ritual was performed during a speech and toast at the reception hall, we may relate this ritual to an old Ukrainian wedding tradition, *perepii*. In the past, when *perepii* took place, the couple first approached each guest to offer a drink while the guest, in the turn, gave the couple a gift. While *perepii* was progressing, the wedding chorus sang songs such as

Oi rode, rode bahatyi,	Oh Clan, rich clan,
Perepyvai tovarets' rohatyi,	As you drink, present horned cattle,
A vy, sestrytsi, telytsi,	And you, sisters, present heifers,
A vy, zovytsi, iahnytsi,	And, you, sisters-in-law, present lambs,
A vy, kumochky, kurochky,	And you, godmothers, present chickens,
A vy, perepiitsi, po kopiitsi	And you, guests, give a coin.

(Verkhovynets', 1970, p. 267; as cited in Maruschak, 1985, p. 168)

Replacing cattle, heifers, and chickens with gold, wheat, bread, and salt, Ukrainian Canadians can adapt and stylize the old ritual in a new setting.

As mentioned, the later generations of Ukrainian Canadians tend to create Ukrainian symbols through personalized interpretations. Eileen (couple 4) regarded it as a tradition for the father of the bride to give her a ride to the church because in all her family, the fathers had always done so. Some ethnographic materials emphasize the role of the bride's father and mother in blessing the couples and their entourage before the wedding procession begins. However, the parents' role was not emphasized in the traditional Ukrainian wedding procession involving the bride and groom, the *druzhky* (bridesmaid) and *boiary* (groomsmen), and musicians. Indeed, the parents often did not go to the church but waited for the guests to come to the parents' homes.

Friends' tradition

The bride or groom's friends often play an important role in introducing some traditions. One of Irene's (couple 1) friends brought a loaf of bread on top of which a knife had been inserted as well as *barvinok* branches to make *vinky*. Hnatiuk (1985) explained that during the *vinkopletennia*, the *svakhy* (female matchmakers) spread the periwinkle on the table and place a loaf of bread, with a padlock and knife attached, into the sieve (p. 225). Irene could not remember the meaning of bread, but she recalled that she had attended an unexpected gathering, planned by her friend, to make wedding wreaths (see Photo 50). Gena also had a *vinkopletennia* where her family and friends made *vinky*. At the end of the ritual, one of Gena's friends suggested that Gena should sell the wreath to the groom (see Photo 51). Gena explained, "That [*vinkopletennia*] was a little bit of her custom blended in with ours."

Photo 50
Vinkopletennia
From Jerry and Irene Kolomijchuk (couple 1)

Photo 51
Vinkopletennia: Collecting money to buy *vinok*
From Michael and Gena Kornylo (couple 11)

The bride and groom make their choices in light of what others have previously chosen to do, and the friends and family members who are their guests evaluate the appropriateness of their choices based on similar (and overlapping) prior knowledge. Eileen (couple 4) reflected that she learned something from her friends' wedding in Edmonton and incorporated what she had learned into her wedding on the farm: "This is what I incorporated into the wedding. By going to a lot of my friends' weddings in Edmonton, who were second-generation or first-generation Ukrainian Canadian, I picked up few things, like meeting at the entrance with parents and having a shot of liquor. Then my mom and dad said, "Ya, we remember that people used to do it long time ago. Same with the donation line, you know I went to my dancing teacher ['s wedding] when she got married. I went to her wedding that had that [*darovannia*]. I liked that tradition. . . . My mom and dad forgot many things, though decorating the gate was my dad's idea."

Ethnic institutions / Knowledge banks

As we have discussed in Chapter 2, Edmonton has the largest population of Ukrainian single- and multiple-origin residents in Canada. The Ukrainian community in Edmonton consciously seeks to preserve its heritage and culture by sponsoring lectures, funding chairs at the University of Alberta, establishing scholarships in ethnic studies, collecting art and artifacts, maintaining museums, and so on. Numerous Ukrainian dance groups, Plast (scout), SUM (Ukrainian Youth Association), Ukrainian bilingual schools and programs, Ukrainian museums and archives, and Ukrainian community centres are very important sources that Ukrainian Canadians can learn about their tradition.[1] Bakalian (1993) called these depositories for heritage conservation "knowledge banks" (p.

45). Ukrainian institutions, including educational institutions, cultural organizations, and museums, provide a knowledge bank that can be a source of Ukrainian symbols.

Some of my informants researched Ukrainian wedding traditions in books or by attending lectures at the university and incorporated these Ukrainian elements into their wedding. Gena (couple 11) took several folklore classes at the University of Alberta. She learned about traditional wedding attendants, including *starosty* (matchmakers). Even though she had not used matchmakers, she decided to have *starosty* at her wedding for a symbolic as well as a functional reason. Michael and Gena asked their very close friends, Volodymyr and Orysia, to be *starosty* for their wedding. Shortly before it, Volodymyr and Orysia, had had a newborn baby and had asked Gena and Michael to be its godparents. At the wedding, the *starosty* were in charge of leading some rituals, such as the *vinkopletennia* and blessing.

In order to have a traditional, but a unique design on her invitation card, Irene (couple 1) tried to find appropriate designs from various Ukrainian books. She finally found a design in which a couple in Ukrainian dress stands facing each other (see Chapter 3, Photo 1).

When Markiana (couple 17) was a high school student, she completed an assignment to compile an information package about Ukrainian wedding traditions. While she visited Ukraine, she researched and observed many wedding traditions and made notes in book form. When she was married, the material from the school assignment turned out to be very useful for planning her own wedding.

Objects may link their owners to the Ukrainian culture through the allusions and memories that these objects evoke. Many of the items received as wedding gifts came from Ukrainian friends, and thus, the choice of friends from the same ethnic group is emphasized through the acquisition of objects and the reminiscences of the donors. Other objects (fridge magnets and figurines presenting Ukrainian dancers) are associated with the owner's participation in Ukrainian dance groups and are evidence of affiliation with ethnic organizations.

Among my informants, those who belonged to Ukrainian cultural organizations usually maintained a special bond with other group members and often organized traditional gatherings with them. For example, the Shumka dance group has a special tradition for female members who marry. Group members host a bridal shower or a *divych vechir* several weeks or months before the wedding. On this occasion, close female friends of the bride present her a group gift, usually a painting or craft with a Ukrainian theme. The present is usually displayed at the bride's house after the wedding, not only providing her with memories of the group members, but also making her proud of her affiliation with the organization.

Eileen (couple 4) had danced in the *Verkhovyna* ensemble for 18 years: "I have danced a very long time and I am very proud of it. Maybe that's the part of . . . why I am so proud of my culture." Around thirty dancers who had used to dance with her had been regularly meeting with each other for years. She had special feeling about the girls who had danced together in the big city: "We all came from the same background. When we got together and talked . . . the girls that I have danced with . . . we have gone from . . . high school to University . . . to meeting future husband, to getting married, to having dated. . . . Now we discuss our kids. . . . I probably believe that when we are seventy-five years old, we will still meet. It's a bond. . . . I just found that people who are Ukrainian, we understand each other."

At her wedding reception, her dance group performed a special dance and then presented a gift to Eileen and Lawrence, which was a figurine showing a man putting a wedding ring in his bride's hand. Eileen displays this figurine in her bedroom. That gift was not an explicitly Ukrainian piece, but it always reminds Eileen of her past with her Ukrainian friends in the dance group. The group's dance performance and its gift were two elements that made her wedding "Ukrainian."

4.1.3. Types of symbols

Ukrainian symbols that Ukrainian Canadians learn from the above-mentioned sources can be divided into several types.

Heritage symbols

Driedger stated that heritage symbols create a sense of belonging, a sense of purpose, and a sense of continuing tradition that is important and worth perpetuating (p. 146). Knowledge of origins and pride in heritage are thought to be particularly significant for ethnic urbanites (p. 145). Based on Driedger's typology, Kuranicheva (2003) emphasized that certain art objects displayed in the Ukrainian Canadian home are perceived as symbolic of the Ukrainian cultural heritage: icons, embroidered towels, representations of poppies, sheep, wheat and others (pp. 117-118). These are the same symbols that many of my informants used in their weddings.

Most of my informants who thought their wedding had been "traditional" or "Ukrainian" had prepared in advance several heritage symbols for their weddings. In these cases, *korovai*, *rushnyky*, icons, and *vinky* (wreaths) were believed to be prerequisites for a Ukrainian wedding.

Symbols of cultural heritage such as *korovai*, *rushnyky*, and *vinky* were related to complicated rituals in the past. However, these rituals or traditions have changed or been eliminated. The preparation of the *korovai*, for example, used to have great significance. In one description, for example, the women gathered to make the bread with the following special ingredients: grain that was seven years old, water from three wells, seven groups of sixty eggs, and a gallon of yeast (Chubinskii, 1875, p. 22). This complicated method of making *korovai* is not practiced any more, and the whole ritual has become much more simple. In the current context of Canada, the ritual of making *korovai* as well as *rushnyky* and *vinky* has been changed in terms of the reason for making them, the persons who make them, the time of making them, the place where they are made, the way they are made, and the purpose of having them.

According to Gans (1979), ethnic symbols are frequently individual cultural practices that are taken from an older ethnic culture; they are 'abstracted' from that culture and pulled out of its original moorings, so to speak, to become stand-ins for it. Instead of "being ethnic," later-generation descendants manifest their ethnicity through personalized interpretations and "varying mental constructions of ethnic behavior" (di Leonardo, 1984, p. 228)

For example, Ukrainian Canadians make Ukrainian symbols through personalized interpretations of Ukrainian color themes. Grant (couple 14), who used to be an active member in a dance group, thought "orange and yellow" were the traditional colors of the Transcarpathian region, so he wore an embroidered shirt with orange and yellow colors.

On the contrary, Tetyana (couple 27), who actually came from the Transcarpathian region, tried not to use orange and yellow because they symbolize bad luck to her: "Something orange and yellow in your wedding is not good. It means apart. The couple will fall apart. So I tried to have nothing yellow, nothing orange."

As Gans (1979) correctly pointed out, all the cultural patterns that are transformed into symbols are themselves guided by a common pragmatic imperative: they are visible and clear in meaning to a large number of second- or third-generation ethnics, and they are easily expressed and felt without unduly interfering with other aspects of life (p. 205).

Besides *korovai*, *rushnyky*, and *vinky*, wheat and *barvinok* are often used as Ukrainian symbols. While *barvinok* is used for decorating both *korovai* and the headtable, wheat is very popular for the hall decorations, bouquets, corsages, the design of the invitation card, and in other contexts.

Ukrainian heritage symbols are often reproduced today in artistic works by crafts people or artists. When a prominent ethnic artist makes an object, people associate ethnic meaning and pride with owning it. Lorraine and Wayne (couple 23) believe that the bride and groom should not purchase icons. They should be presented by others. Thus, Lorraine's parents purchased the icons, which an artist in Manitoba had made. When Wayne went to Manitoba, he contacted the artist and ordered two icons for his wedding. Then Lorraine's parents paid for them and presented them to the couple after the blessing a day before their wedding. Currently, those icons are displayed in their living room.

National symbols

The word "national" has several meanings: (1) "having to do with a nation or country; (2) characteristic of or peculiar to the people of a nation; and (3) concerned with or applicable to or belonging to an entire nation or country. If "nation" is taken to refer to the Ukrainian State, Ukrainian Canadians cannot claim that they are the people of the Ukrainian nation. However, some Ukrainian Canadians have a need for representative, authentic and instantly recognizable symbols. They create "national symbols," which are largely based on "certain aspects of the Ukrainian folk heritage" (Klymasz, 1972, p. 8) and unconsciously or consciously use those symbols to preserve and foster their heritage in Canada. One of characteristics of "national symbols" is that ordinary objects of the past become raised to the level of national folk art. For example, when the Easter egg is regarded as an ethnic icon, representing all of Ukrainian culture, it is transformed from a heritage symbols into a national symbol.

Pohorecky (1984) claimed "all ethnic symbols have cultural and political aspects" (p. 129). He discussed selected symbols that reflect political aspects, with emphasis on the first three waves of Ukrainian immigrants who came to Canada. He said that a renewed revival of the pioneer era and "heritage symbols" remains politically vital for developing Ukrainian culture in Canada (p. 140).

Symbols related to the identification with ancestors' homeland or a territory

Ukrainian Canadians who do not live in Ukraine often connect their ethnic identity to their ancestors' homeland, Ukraine. Kuranicheva (2003) argued that the territory that Ukrainian Canadians connect to their ethnic identity is Ukraine. Her interviewees regarded a number of items as "special" because they reminded them of Ukraine, the actual or ancestral motherland. Several of my informants also mentioned that the use of objects from Ukraine definitely gave their weddings a special meaning. Michael and Gena (couple 11) obtained their engagement rings from Ukraine. Michael asked his friend to purchase two rings from Ukraine, one for Gena and one for himself. Then he included them in his marriage proposal to her. Michael said, "Why did I have this one? We talked one time [that when] we do get married we would like to have two rings, one from Ukraine . . . as well as another ring [from here, which is] also again more a Western type of ring. So we had two rings. Both rings were used in the wedding ceremony as well."

According to Driedger (1989), "Territory is an essential ingredient of any definition of a community. Individuals can identify with a territory, and it is the place within which ethnic activity can take place" (p. 144). Joy (1972) and Lieberson (1970) also argued that the maintenance of an ethnic language and culture is not possible unless a sufficiently large number of people of the same ethnic group are concentrated in a territory. Ethnic bloc settlements are common in western Canada, including the Ukrainian Canadians in the Aspen Belt stretching from the Manitoba Inter-Lake region to Edmonton. Even though many Ukrainian Canadians moved out of the bloc settlement into bigger cities, significant Ukrainian populations are still living in the rural bloc settlements. Those who used to live in the bloc settlements, or as well as the children of these people, tend to connect their ethnic identity to the territory where they or their parents came from. Grant and Karen (couple 14) were an example. They decided to use wheat in various ways to include a Ukrainian element in their wedding. Karen put wheat in her and the ladies' bouquets and corsages while her friend used wheat to decorate the "wishing well" on the guest registry table (see Chapter 3, Photo 28). Grant and Karen also wanted wheat as a main symbol for their invitation card even though they had to choose it from templates (see Chapter 3, Photo 5). They said that wheat had double meaning for them. Grant believed that wheat is a Ukrainian [heritage] symbol because it is very popular everywhere in Ukrainian life. For Karen, wheat had another special meaning. It always reminded her of her grandparents, who were farmers in Alberta. Thus, wheat reminded her not only of her Ukrainian heritage but also of her Alberta heritage and her family.

Others have argued that Ukrainian Canadians may not be a "diaspora" any more, for many have "re-located" their homeland to Canada. According to Shostak (2003), local [Mundare] Ukrainians developed their own version of Ukrainianness. Thus, recent immigrants from Ukraine have experienced the local Ukrainianness as different than anything they experienced in their homeland (p. 82). When Karen (couple 14) connected wheat with her grandparents' farm in Alberta, she might have been identifying with an ethnic homeland territory.

4.2. Tradition and Creativity

Rituals have two distinctive characteristics: continuity and change. Rituals are primarily about continuity, so they are largely predictable, at least for anyone familiar with the form displayed. However, rituals also serve as vehicles for the representation and recognition of change. This function would seem to contradict the frequent emphasis on rituals as only repetitive and traditional (Boyer, 1990, pp. 13, 18). These seemingly paradoxical characteristics of folklore – one dynamic, the other conservative – are what folklorist Toelken (1979) called the twin laws of the folklore process. Toelken said, "Conservatism refers to all those processes and forces that result in the retaining of certain information . . . and the attempted passing of those materials, intact, through time and space in all the channels of traditional expression" (p. 35). On the other hand, "Dynamism comprises all those elements that function to change features, contents, meanings, styles, performance, and usage as a particular traditional event takes place repeatedly through space and time" (p. 35). As a result of the twin laws of the folklore process, wedding rituals exist in numerous versions and variants as they are performed in different situations at different times. No person or family ever performs any single wedding ritual in exactly the same way as a previous one because the interplay between tradition and creativity, and between conservatism and dynamism, always affects the performance.

This section of this study answers the following questions: What conditions change from one performance to the next? What changes or discontinuities exist between performances of the "same" material by different performers?

If one perceives an event – a performance or ritual – as a traditional survival, one may "naturally" exclude from one's data the modern, commercial, or evangelical forces that are everywhere in the culture but "peripheral" to the event. If, however, one sees the performance or ritual as emergent, predominantly located not in the past, but in the possible present and a possible future, modern elements become interesting and will be much more prominent in one's corpus of inscriptions (Clifford, 1990, p. 56).

To me, rituals are interesting specifically for the ways they combine the maintenance of traditional elements with changes over time. All rituals change over time, altering to reflect the participants' current needs. "Cultural change means people coming to act differently and to regard the new ways as normal and even proper" (Charsley, 1992, p. 128), so culture "must be understood as it unfolds, develops, changes, erases itself, and rewrites itself" (MacCannell & MacCannell, 1982, p. 11).

4.2.1. Changes of tradition in the form, overall structure, and space

Each of the customs and symbols associated with celebrations like weddings has its own story, its own folklore (Santino, 1995, p. xvi). Many customs and symbols are related to the old traditions. However, people may well use these old symbols and practice these old rituals differently than they did in the past. After adapting old symbols and rituals, Ukrainian Canadians stylize and personalize them. They attempt to make the use of customs a means to mark their passage through their wedding. Through this process, some rituals are renewed from the old tradition, others are created in a new form. This section deals with how Ukrainian wedding rituals have changed in their form, overall structure, and space.

Changes in form

Visible and less inherited

As Gans (1979) mentioned, ethnic symbols or rituals are frequently individual cultural practices that are taken from the older ethnic culture. Ukrainian symbols in Ukrainian Canadian weddings tend to be 'abstracted' from old Ukrainian culture and pulled out of their original context to become stand-ins for it. They are visible and clear in meaning to large numbers of Ukrainian Canadians. According to Klymasz, the recent phase of the maintenance of Ukrainian heritage in Canada is determined by the dominant popular culture that is "almost exclusively devoted to the non-verbal, sensory appeal" – the sound of Ukrainian music, the taste of traditional food and the visual attraction of Ukrainian art (Klymasz, 1972, p. 11).

Most Ukrainian symbols, such as *korovai*, *hil'tse*, and *vinok*, are disconnected from their original, complicated rituals and have become different, accompanied by a new style of rituals. For example, in the past, the ritual of making *hil'tse* was quite complicated, beginning with the preparation phase. According to Zdoroveha (1974), in one local tradition, the groom's responsibility was to provide the bride with a branch for the *hil'tse*. From a pine, fir, cherry, apple or pear tree, the groom had to choose a branch with an uneven number of stems. Then the branch was delivered to the bride's home, and the oldest *druzhka* asked a *starosta* to invoke a blessing (p. 87). Once the blessing had been invoked, the *druzhky* began making the ornamental corsages, which would be used to adorn the branch's stems. The ornamental bouquets were usually adorned with periwinkle, cranberries, oats, feathers, herbs, garlic, and coins that were tied together with colored wool, silk, or ribbons (Maruschak, 1985, p.80). Once the bouquets were finished, they were attached to the tree by the bride, her parents and friends, accompanied by a series of ritual songs. In contrast, in contemporary Ukrainian Canadian weddings, the making of the *hil'tse* is different in form and process. It has become complicated in a different way. According to the fieldwork materials presented in Chapter 3, the ritual of making *hil'tse* can be held not only in the bride's house, but also in the community or church hall (couple 10, see Photo 11). This ritual can be also organized a month before the wedding (couple 3 and 23). The ornaments also include non-traditional materials, such as a magnet in the shape of a *pyrohy*, a little red boot, and a small sewing machine (couple 23). The process of preparing and making the tree has become different; the groom is not responsible for providing the branches, and the ritual does not include ritual songs. As well, children can participate in this ritual (couple 10, see Photo 11). These changes are likely less standardized and less inherited.

Fun and playful, but less serious

Many of the old rituals associated with the sale of the bride and the protective magical procedures and customs have lost their meaning today. Nevertheless, some have been preserved as playful elements of the contemporary wedding celebration.

The custom of "kidnapping" the bride or the "purchase" of the bride is an old tradition that was performed not only in Ukraine but also in many other nations. In Ukraine, these two customs usually were accompanied by symbolic and playful fighting between the bride's and groom's families and were much more serious in form than they are today. According to Kuzela (1963), in one local tradition, a groom from another village had to go through so-called *pereima* when he visited his bride's house to attend *vesillia*. The young men from the bride's village barred the passage of the groom's entourage. Only after a mock "fight" and long negotiations was the groom's entourage allowed to enter the house, but even then, the groom had to overcome the resistance of the brothers of the bride and pay an appropriate ransom to obtain the right to sit beside her (p. 337)

This "purchasing" of the bride, reflected occasionally in present Ukrainian Canadian weddings, has lost its serious ritual form and become a form of play.

For example, on the morning of Gena and Michael's (couple 11) wedding, Michael and his party went to Gena's parents' house for a blessing. They knocked on the front door and asked her father for permission to come in. Then they asked for the hand of his daughter, but Gena's father would not let the groom in until Michael provided gifts for him. Michael and his party gave him some gifts including a bottle of vodka (see Photo 52). Then Gena's father said, "Well, that's no good. . . . what's going to be left for me?

Dido (the grandfather) is going to drink all this vodka" Then Michael came back with *kovbasa* and chocolates. Gena's father said again, "No, Dido is going to drink all the vodka, people are going to eat all the *kovbasa*, baba is going to eat all the chocolates, there's nothing for me, you're taking my only daughter. . . . She's my only daughter, there's going to be nothing left for me." Finally, Michael came with a blank check and Gena's father said, "That's O.K," because he could fill it in for any amount. The whole procedure was not serious but only playful and symbolic.

Photo 52
The groom asking for permission to come in.
From Michael and Gena Kornylo (couple 11)

Children's participation

Children's participations in wedding rituals must have existed in old Ukrainian wedding rituals. Today, to promote more participation of family members in wedding rituals, the bride and groom give children a role in the wedding ceremony. Girls are flower girls; boys are ring bearers if they are quite small, or ushers if they are older. In most cases, these cute, beautifully dressed children bring pleasure and laughter. However, children sometimes cause trouble at weddings. One of my informants chose a girl from each family and let the girls carry flower baskets for the church service and later salt and *korovai* for the wedding reception (couple 19). During the wedding reception, the girl who was supposed to carry the *korovai* accidentally dropped it. Fortunately, it was not broken, but the bride and groom were shocked because the *korovai* was the symbol of their unity.

Children's participation is not always welcomed in current Ukrainian Canadian weddings. In some aspects, contemporary Ukrainian Canadian weddings tend to exclude children's participation. Especially at the wedding reception, the bride and groom often limit the number of their guests because of economic reasons. In this case, children are usually the first to be excluded from the invitation list.

The use of new technology, new communication systems

New technology and communication systems also make modern weddings different from the old ones. The area most influenced by these factors is the announcement of the marriage and the invitations to the wedding guests. In the past, the decision to marry was announced by an official engagement ritual which was usually performed in the bride's house with the attendance of both families, following a complicated series of rituals. Today, instead of having an official engagement ritual, the groom usually proposes marriage to his fiancée, presenting a ring. If she accepts, the bride and groom inform their parents and friends later. Some share their engagement news by using the telephone or electronic mail. New communicating systems make sharing news very simple and also provide innovative ways to do so. The following images were created by Quentin (a third-generation Ukrainian) (couple 26) and his friends by using computer software to inform his parents of his engagement (see Photo 53, 54, 58, and 56).

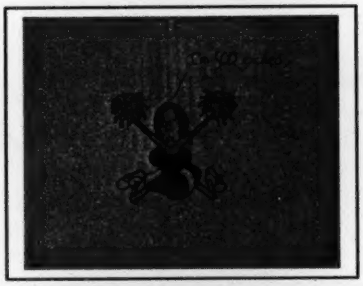


Photo 53

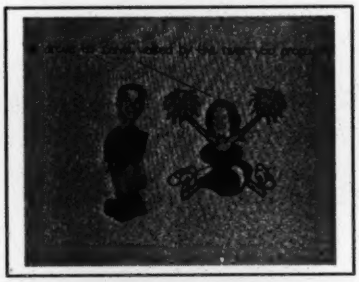


Photo 54

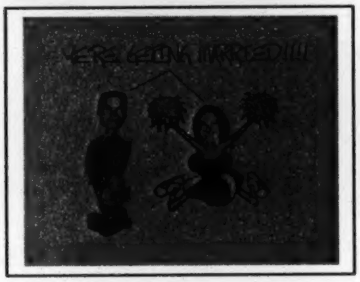

WE'RE GETTING MARRIED!!!!

Photo 55

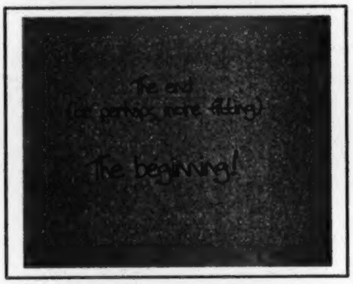


Photo 56

Photo 53, 54, 55, and 56
The announcement of the engagement by using computer software
Quentin and Julie Kyliuk

Anyone designing an element of any ritual faces the challenge of how to mesh continuity and change in appropriate ways, for a new ritual must have enough continuity for the audience to recognize what is occurring as a valid example of a particular type of ritual, and enough creativity for the audience to recognize the appropriate adaptation of an old form to new and changing circumstances (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002, pp. 90-91). Otherwise, the audience cannot be convinced of the continuity of a tradition. Even though invitation cards are not an ancient Ukrainian tradition, they have been very popular among Ukrainian Canadians for several generations now. Thus, the older Ukrainians have certain expectations about what an invitation should look like. When the bride and groom include too many changes in their wedding invitation card, its message cannot be successfully shared with others. For example, Quentin made his invitation card in a newspaper format (see Chapter 3, Photo 7, 8, 9, 10). Even though he included Ukrainian elements, mentioning Ukrainian food and others, the older generations responded negatively because they could not easily interpret the message. For them, the content and style of the invitation cards were too unusual.

The use of consumer goods

Consumer goods are another ready source for ethnic symbols in Ukrainian Canadian weddings. Different from the pioneer period, when homemade products were the main resources for weddings, nowadays various kinds of consumer goods, such as clothing, vehicles, households, kitchen items, food, and alcohol, are easily used in contemporary weddings. Particularly, during the last decades, the wedding industry has developed a large variety of items, such as wedding gifts, costumes, and wedding cakes. Even Ukrainian heritage items, such as embroidered cloths, costumes, icons, and Ukrainian dishes, can be purchased from a local Ukrainian store or from individual producers.

Changes in overall structure

In the past, the wedding ceremony took place on Sunday and the celebration continued for several days or a week. Today, the wedding celebration usually starts on Saturday and ends on Sunday. The modern wedding celebrations last for two days at the most. As a result of these changes, many rituals that were performed over a longer period in the past have been rearranged so that they can be performed in a shorter period. Thus, some old rituals have totally disappeared while others have been assigned to different periods of the wedding process.

As was mentioned in Chapter 1 (p. 34), Borysenko (1988) listed several wedding elements that had been observed throughout the entire Ukraine. The pre-wedding rituals intended to match the bride and groom and to arrange the marriage have mostly been lost from contemporary Ukrainian Canadian weddings. Post-wedding rituals intended to purify and unify the married couple have been preserved only rarely (See the church purification in Photo 57). However, *divych vechir*, the church service, the ritual of *posad molodykh*, the covering of the bride's head, and the reception in the groom's house have been preserved or adapted more often.

Sometimes two or more rituals are combined into one and then performed earlier than the previous ones used to be. For example, in contemporary Ukrainian Canadian weddings, *divych vechir* or *vinkopletennia*, which used to be held on a night before the wedding, often take place a month before, being combined with a bridal shower (couple 2, 3, 7, 23).

According to Borysenko (1988), the most significant element of the traditional ritual was the so-called "*posad molodykh*" (the seating of the newlyweds) in the *vesillia* (the traditional Ukrainian wedding). After the church service, the bride and groom went to their homes separately. Then the groom and his entourage departed for the bride's house to perform the traditional wedding "*vesillia*." After the groom and his entourage had entered the house, they bargained for the bride and fought with the bride's brothers and bridesmaids. After the long negotiations and mock fighting, the groom could finally sit by the bride, remove her kerchief from her head, and kiss her. This kiss indicated that she belonged to him. This ritual was followed by the distribution of *korovai* and the exchange of gifts between the two families (Borysenko, 1988, pp. 69-86). After the *vesillia* disappeared, those rituals that had been related to the "*posada molodykh*" had to be performed at a different time. For example, the sale of the bride has changed its form and is now performed when the groom visits the bride's house to receive the blessing on the morning of the wedding day (couple 8, 10 and 11), or the day after the wedding, at the *popravyny* or gift-opening (couple 4 and 11).

Another important ritual signaling that the bride had become a married woman used to be performed before the bride and groom departed for the groom's house at the end of *vesillia* in the bride's house. After the bride's hair had been either rebraided or cut, she received and donned the headdress of a married woman. Either the bride's mother, brother, *druzhky*, or the groom put on the headpiece. The person who performed the ceremony waved a kerchief over the bride and then placed it on her head (Maruschak, 1985, p. 132). This ritual is not often performed in Ukrainian Canadians' weddings. However, one of my informants had this ritual performed at the church a day after her wedding. Her priest blessed her as a married woman. After the blessing, the priest covered her head with a kerchief (see Photo 57).

Photo 57
A ceremony covering the bride's
head with a kerchief
From Jerry and Irene Kolomijchuk (couple 1)

Changes in space

According to Borysenko (1988), one of the important characteristics of traditional Ukrainian weddings was that *vesillia* (traditional wedding) took place in the bride's house and then the bride and groom moved to the groom's house. Borysenko explained the different trips that the groom usually took on his wedding day: (1) from the groom's house to the bride's house, (2) with the bride, to the church, (3) from the church to the groom's house, (4) with his entourage, to the bride's house, and (5) with the bride, back to the groom's house or to an independent dwelling (p. 70).

Ukrainian wedding celebrations in Canada, from the arrival of the first immigrants through to the 1950s, preserved the old patterns set in Ukraine because the tradition of holding weddings at home survived during this period (Rais, 2001, p. 15). However, since 1960, when the community hall became the preferred location for such large events, and local community organizations assumed the task of food preparation, the wedding process became different from the old one. According to the decision on whether the bride and groom will receive *blahoslovennia* (the blessing) together, the groom can go to the bride's house or directly to the church. Then the bride and groom usually take the following trips: (1) after the church service, the bride and groom usually go to a photo studio or a another place for the taking of formal photographs; (2) the bride and groom go to the reception hall; (3) they go to a hotel; (4) the next day, they go to the bride's parents' house or a rented hall for the gift-opening; and (5) they go on their honeymoon.

Borysenko (1988) explained the newlyweds' seat was arranged in the holy corner where the icons were usually hung. Today, the couple's seat has been moved into the reception hall where the head-table is set. Instead of hanging icons, Ukrainian Canadians sometimes display their icons in front of the bride and groom's seat (see Photo 58). This practice can be seen as a transformation of the old "*posad molodykh*."

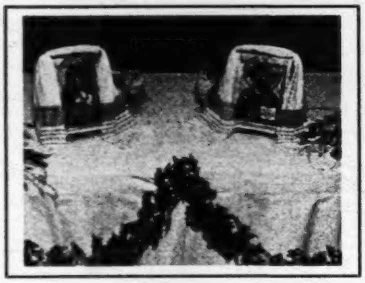


Photo 58
The newlywed's seat
From Wayne and Lorraine Alfred (couple 23)

Since the *vesillia* no longer takes place in the bride's house, the whole wedding process is now different from the old one. The focus of the wedding ceremony has shifted from the *vesillia* to the church service. The reception part of contemporary Ukrainian Canadian weddings does not take over the whole function of the *vesillia* even though there exist some remnants of *vesillia* that are speeches, *perepii*, gift-opening, sharing food, and dance.

4.2.2 Contextual changes

Bauman (1983) identified three different categories of the cultural context, which relate to "systems of meaning and symbolic interrelationships" (p. 363). I believe that the cause and effect of the change of a tradition should be discussed in relation to its contexts. According to Bauman, the cultural contexts can be divided into the following three broad categories:

a) Institutional context: how do cultural institutions (social, economic, legal, religious, and educative) influence the expression of culture?

b) Context of the meaning: what does a ritual mean?

c) Context of the communicative system: how does a ritual relate to other kinds of folklore?

Adapting Bauman's classification of contexts, I decided to review the background of the changes in the Ukrainian Canadian wedding tradition by focusing on the change of institutional context, the change of ritual meaning, and the change of the communicative system.

The change of institutional context

With the immigration of people from various countries to Canada, many ethnic traditions became affected by not only more dominant "Canadian" styles with a strong Anglo-Saxon influence but also by the new Canadian institutional context, which differed from that of the immigrants' Old Countries. This institutional influence has affected the Ukrainian-Canadian community from the beginning of its immigrant history a century ago to the current period since the Second World War, after which many Ukrainian-Canadians moved to urban centres.

Five-day work week

Some of the strongest non-Ukrainian factors that influenced Ukrainian-Canadian weddings were practical considerations rather than aesthetic ones. For example, because of the five-day Canadian work week, multiple-day Ukrainian weddings became less practical than they had been in Ukraine. Thus, weddings were condensed to one or two days and celebrated on the "weekend." Nowadays, weddings are usually held on Saturday and end on Sunday with an after-wedding-day celebration often called "*pospravyny*."

Because of employment and the necessary travel that might be involved, guests need to know about a wedding further ahead of time than they had to know in Ukraine. The old custom of the bride and groom individually inviting people by visiting each household is not possible anymore, so paper invitations are sent out as family and friends tend to live further away from one another than they lived previously.

The Canadian Temperance Act

Klymasz (1980) characterized the Ukrainian weddings of the first immigrants as festivities that offered the maximum scope for involvement and promoted spontaneous behavior by their participants (p. 81). During the first decades of Ukrainian settlement in Canada, the festive character of Ukrainian weddings was often negatively interpreted by outsiders, who found they were something of a "calamity":

> "fighting . . . frequently occurs at their [Ukrainians'] wedding and dances, owing to the excessive amount of home-brew consumed. . . . Home-brew literally flows at the weddings, as much as two and three hundred dollars being spent on the event, and the demand has stimulated an increasing supply." (Young, 1931, p. 267; as cited in Klymasz, 1980, p. 82)

According to Robinson (1992), by 1930, the wildness of the Ukrainian wedding had been firmly enshrined in Prairie legend. The following example is one of several that he provided describing the uproariousness of a Ukrainian-Canadian wedding:

> The other day, on invitation, I attended a Ruthenian wedding. . . . This marriage ceremony was held at one of the Greek churches early in the morning. The feast began immediately afterwards in an adjacent hall and lasted till midnight. The programme consisted of eating and drinking and dancing, of talking and singing and shouting, of love-making and fighting all mixed up indiscriminately and long drawn out. . . . [A]nd these Ruthenians are such thirsty souls- - especially when drinks are free! At five in the afternoon when I left, there had already been the

> first fight. The groom explained that the man had "come looking for trouble." He found it. We had wild excitement till a policeman had been summoned and taken off one or two. Then on with the dance and the music and the drink! (Woodsworth, 1910, p. 8; as cited in Robinson, 1992, p.83)

Robinson (1992) stated that the excessive consumption of alcohol was universally blamed for the problems at Ukrainian weddings (p. 86). In specific reference to Ukrainian weddings, according to Robinson, one judge reasoned that "When a store of kegs are emptied during the evening, there is sure to be trouble before morning" (Chipman, 1909, pp. 115-116; as cited in Robinson, 1992, p. 86).

During Canada's Prohibition Era, which lasted from 1915 to 1925, alcohol consumption had to be carefully concealed or eliminated altogether, because alcohol was blamed for widespread poverty and social evils such as the neglect of one's work, the spread of disease, crime, and the mistreatment of women and children. According to Klymasz (1980), until the 1960s, most Anglo-Canadians perceived Ukrainian weddings as a typically wild and unreserved manifestation of traditional Ukrainian folkways (p. 82).

Moreover, some Ukrainian wedding traditions were criticized not only by Anglo-Canadians, but also by Ukrainian immigrants:

> We must always have in mind that customs have more meaning for us here in Canada than in the Old Country. . . . [O]ur wedding customs are lovely except for the fact that much that is unnecessary and even harmful is added on to them – such as dirty songs, drunkenness, and then shouting and even fights. These additions, this already is not a national custom, this is a national sin and must be

> gotten rid of . . . . ("Zvychinie narodnykh zvychaiv" [The meaning of Folk Customs], 1918, p. 129; as cited in Klymasz, 1980, p. 82)

The Canadian Temperance Act, which was passed in 1879 to make the production and selling of hard liquor illegal, was reinforced by the government during the Prohibition Era. As a result of institutional regulations, some of the traditional boisterous celebrations at Ukrainian Canadian weddings were eliminated.

However, Klymasz (1980) indicated that in some areas on the prairies in the 1960s, even English Canadian weddings were taking on elements borrowed from Ukrainians. These included such features as traditional Ukrainian dishes, a dance band, a "presentation" which, in the case of "mixed" or "English" weddings, was held upon entering the hall and served as a kind of admission fee intended to prevent uninvited "crashers" from posing as invited guests and gorging themselves on the food and drink without presenting a wedding gift or contributing anything to help defray expenses (p. 87).

Commercialism and the media

Another important factor contributing to the change of traditions has been commercialism. Weddings have become big business in North America. For example, 1% of the U.S. population gets married each year, and the wedding industry earns $ 40 to $ 100 billion per year, depending on exactly what is included in the figure (Puente, 2000; as cited in Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002, p. 9). According to *The Victoria Times Colonist*, 156,360 weddings were performed in Canada in 2000, and Canadian couples spend about $4.5 billion each year, often determining spending patterns and brand preferences for the rest of their lives ("It's a pricey occasion," 2003, p. C2). The wedding industry is earning so much partly because so many specialists are devoting themselves to the wedding business. A bride and groom without guidance are not expected to know how to design an appropriate ceremony by themselves. For those with little knowledge of their own traditions, a mainstream wedding seems "safe." To a certain degree, Ukrainian wedding traditions have been influenced by the mainstream norms that are the product of the wedding industry.

The media are largely responsible for constructing our shared identity, so the vast majority of film weddings follow mainstream guidelines. Hall (1977) suggested the media fill this role as a way of coping with the plurality of worldviews common in modern societies (p. 60).

According to Moffatt (1992), we share many assumptions and expectations because we share a language and a common body of media products, such as books, magazines, newspapers, television shows, films and the Internet (pp. 205-229). Anderson (1983) also pointed out the role of the media in creating a common sense of community, explaining that the media are largely responsible for constructing our shared identity (p. 48). Newspapers, films, popular magazines and web sites (including those specifically targeted to brides) promulgate the mainstream wedding. The lists that many of the popular magazines provide to help a bride organize all of the details necessary to plan an elaborate mainstream wedding send a clear message about the expectations of what should be included (Browning, 1992, pp. 281-302).

Religions

Canada has many different religions and religious institutions. Weddings, which are such a major ritual form, are led by ritual experts, such as priests, ministers, and rabbis. While secular specialists organizing a wedding tend to stick to what they have already learned to do well, and try not to incorporate many new and different elements, the ritual experts adhere to religious requirements, so that substantial repetition occurs across weddings. Thus, on the one hand, we can determine how much Ukrainian churches contribute to preserving Ukrainian wedding traditions among Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants. However, on the other hand, we can realize that the different religious traditions that are introduced into the life of Ukrainian Canadians can became powerful factors that can change Ukrainian wedding traditions. One of my informants, Allen (couple 12) indicated how much his religion influenced his wedding. Since he has belonged to a Protestant church and had learned different ways of religious expression, he organized his wedding differently from the typical Ukrainian Canadian one, which usually lasts two days and is filled with amusements such as dancing and drinking. Because of his religious convictions, Allen decided not to include a dance session at his wedding reception. In his church community, people do not feel comfortable with dancing at the reception. Also, no alcoholic beverages were served at his reception. He scheduled the opening of gifts right after the early supper, which started around 4:00, because he wanted to complete everything in one day. The reception finished around 5:30, and then the bride and groom went to a hotel for the first night of their marriage.

In the past, the most important sanctioning of the marriage was the performance of the traditional wedding rituals, which were called "*vesillia*." The *vesillia* had legal power and served as a juridical sanction of the union. In contrast, in contemporary Ukrainian Canadian weddings, the ritual that has a legal force and binds the couple together is the signing of the marriage certificate, which can be performed during the church service or by an official representative of the government (Justice of Peace) in a special place for the wedding. Based on Borysenko's definition of *vesillia*, the traditional wedding "*vesillia*" does not exist any more. Many Ukrainian Canadians who marry in a church believe that the actual sanctioning of the marriage is achieved by the church service.

The change of meaning

The following contextual meanings are pervasive in the lives of current generations, with a strong influence on contemporary wedding cultures.

Artistic (or theatrical) meaning

Glassie (1989) explained that an artifact, or an object of material culture, simultaneously gives pleasure and serves some practical social or economic end. If a pleasure-giving function predominates, the artifact is called "art"; if a practical function predominates, it is called a "craft" (p. 253).

In the past, for example, even though the *korovai* was decorated with artistic designs, the practical function was always achieved at the end when it was consumed. The final tradition associated with the *korovai* was that it was cut up and shared with all family members and guests present. The past tradition was to eat the *korovai* at the reception, but many bridal couples now choose to keep the *korovai* as a memento along with the top layer of their wedding cake. This change from the tradition is based upon personal preference and the level of understanding of the tradition. People often display the *korovai* with a wedding cake on a separate table beside the head table in the reception hall. One of my informants even put a sign near the *korovai*, stating "Do not take off the birds." Right after the cake-cutting, the *korovai* was removed so that it would not be broken. Then it was brought back to the bride and groom's house for the display as a memento.

The *Korovai* is not the only object used as an artistic display. Many gifts from the guests at the bridal shower or the wedding reception are artistic objects for display purposes. Embroidered towels, paintings, statutes, and traditional Ukrainian dish sets are not for daily use but primarily for display purposes.

Artistic meaning is emphasized not only by artifacts but also by performances. Nahachewsky (1992) explained the artistic or theatrical tradition of Ukrainian dance. From the perspective of a dance group, a dance is also an artistic theatrical performance. Those who are not ethnic Ukrainians can have a similar impression. For example, according to Wayne (couple 23), even those who have already seen a Shumka dance can be thrilled to see it again. Thus, he could imagine how impressive it would be for those who have never seen it. At his wedding reception, some of Wayne's friends came over to him to say good-bye, but Wayne asked them to stay longer to see the dance performance. Later, those friends told him how much they had enjoyed it and thanked him again for encouraging them to wait and see it. They regarded the Ukrainian dance performance as not only the expression of Ukrainian ethnicity or nationality but also as an artistic work.

The meaning of education / instruction

A potential problem for second- or third-generation ethnics in Canada is that even though they may be expected to be fully competent in traditional cultural patterns, in reality they have only partial access to them (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002, p. 128). For this reason, they often need to research the types of traditional wedding customs that they would like to incorporate into their weddings and attempt to share their knowledge of these customs by providing educational materials such as pamphlets or booklets. Sometimes the bride and groom choose a couple as their *starosty* and let them lead some rituals, explaining to the guests the meaning and procedure of the rituals. For example, at the wedding of Bohdan and Jess (couple 10), one of Bohdan's brothers and sisters-in-law played the role of *starosty*. Since Jess's family was not very traditional, Bohdan's family included its family traditions, such as making *derevtse*, the blessing, and the abduction of the groom, in the wedding. In order to help people to understand these rituals, the *starosty* explained their symbolic meaning and processes.[2]

The meaning of "enjoyment"

Dancing, singing, and music used to be an integral part of old Ukrainian wedding traditions and had mainly social meanings for the participants. In the contemporary weddings of Ukrainian Canadians, social meaning is still important, but is created differently. In the past, people enjoyed themselves mainly with singing and dancing, but in modern times, these two entertainments tend to be performed not only by the participants themselves, but also by a specialized choir or dance group. Contemporary Ukrainian Canadian weddings include numerous social gatherings – a stag, stagette, bridal showers, the main wedding reception itself, and *popravny*. However, these occasions often include not voluntary Ukrainian singing, music, or dancing, but gaming, golfing, or barbecuing.

Even though today social meaning is achieved differently than it used to be, the social dance tradition has been preserved in the modern Ukrainian weddings in Canada. The social dances that were often performed at weddings of the 1960s generally involved voluntary participation and were performed with live musical accompaniment, while other guests sat at tables, stood at the bar, or circulated around the hall (Nahachewsky, 1992, p. 76). Since the 1960s, a specific Canadianized form of the *kolomyika* is sometimes played on the evening of the wedding day. This dance is performed in a circle, often surrounded by rings of less active participants. While most people stand and clap, a series of "soloists" present various steps in its centre. The following passage describes the more traditional version of the *kolomyika*:

> For the majority of dances, dancers selected their partners either as an aspect of courtship or to reflect family and community status. It was common, therefore, for a young man to dance once with the bride, once with his mother and each of his aunts, and more often with selected girls in his peer group. Many of the dances in the repertoire involved direct physical contact with one's partner. Each couple circulated somewhat independently around the dance floor. The *kolomyika*, as noted, involved less physical contact (most dancers clapped and stood around the circumference of the circle) but a stronger sense of group participation. (Nahachewsky, 1992, p. 76)

This *kolomyika* dance tradition continues to be popular at the weddings of Edmonton's Ukrainian Canadians. At their weddings, a *kolomyika* is often performed during the late stages of the wedding reception.

National meaning

As I explained in Chapter 2, Ukrainians have immigrated in four major waves to Canada. Peasants and early Ukrainian immigrants tended not to be very nationally conscious (Swyripa, 1991, p. 56). The third wave was caused by the Second World War, after which Ukrainians in refugee camps in Austria and West Germany came to Canada.

For most of those Ukrainians, "Canada's attraction was as a political refuge rather than for home-steading. Educated, elitist, urban and, above all, nationalistic in outlook, the new Ukrainian Canadians were conscious of a mission to preserve and foster their heritage and traditions in exile until political conditions improved in the Ukraine" (Klymasz, 1972, p. 8). Klymasz (1972) explained that they brought with them "a sophisticated and refined body of national symbols, based largely on certain aspects of the Ukrainian folk heritage" (p. 8).

National symbols were quite significant and developed in the interwar period though they were even more characteristic of the culture of the post WWII immigrants. By the time the third wave of Ukrainian immigrants arrived in Canada, certain ordinary objects of the past became raised to the level of national folk art. Old, rural and folk objects were transformed to new, urban and national symbols because Ukrainians needed to have ethnic symbols that could be seen as "authentic" and that were instantly recognizable. Klymasz (1972) provided examples of these national symbols: "the tailored folk dress of Poltava," "the multi-stringed, lyre-like *bandura*," "cross-stitch," "the traditional decorated Easter egg," and others (p. 8). These objects were distilled, purified, and preserved as the symbols of a nation's identity.

At Ukrainian weddings in Edmonton, national meaning is often created by including national symbols in the ceremonies. While embroidered cloths or costumes are often presented as the symbols of Ukrainian identity, the presentation of Ukrainian *bandurists* or dancers in Ukrainian national costumes often creates a strong national meaning for the audience.

As I mentioned before, Michael and Gena's (couple 11) engagement photo, for which they dressed up in traditional Ukrainian shirts and posed beside a *bandura*, reflects their Ukrainian identity (see Photo 59). Also, at their wedding reception, Ukrainian *bandura* music was another clear symbol of Ukrainian identity (see Photo 60). *Bandura* music is not traditional in the area where Michael's ancestors lived, and Michael's ancestors did not play the *bandura*. He learned how to play it here as a national Ukrainian symbol.

Photo 59
Engagement photo and *korovai*

Photo 60
Bandurists' performance

From Michael and Gena Kornylo (couple 11)

The performance of national dances by Ukrainian dance groups also conveys a strong national meaning. Nahachewsky (1992, pp. 76-78) explained that performances of national dances typically took place on the anniversary date of an important Ukrainian literary figure, the declaration of independence, or some other symbolic events.[3] Numerous Ukrainian dance groups in Edmonton now perform these choreographed, staged national dances not only at their members' weddings, but also at those of other Ukrainian Canadians. These staged Ukrainian dance performances become a mediator that connects Ukrainians in the audience with their roots and makes them feel proud of their culture and identity.

The change of communicative system

The context of a communicative system involves the emic categories (native categories, categories from the point of view of the folk) of genres, and emic ways of organizing the world. The question to ask within this context involves "how a particular form of folklore relates to other forms of folklore within the culture" (Bauman, 1983, p. 364).

Ukrainian wedding traditions involve numerous genres of folklore, including, for example, significant singing and dramatic elements. However, in Canada, these two folk genres are less prominent in Ukrainian Canadian weddings because of the loss of the Ukrainian language and the changing relationships among people.

In modern times, "traditional ties have been weakened by the rise of mass societies and rapid global communication, factors which bring with them rapid social change and new philosophies which . . . emphasize individualism and individualistic goals" (Benoist & Sunic, 1994, "A Sociological View of Decay of Modern Society").

Contextual changes have also occurred: couples are now much more financially independent, and females have more control over decision-making than they had previously. People have their own homes before they get married. Family members live far apart.

While collectivism holds that achievement is a product of society, individualism holds that the individual is the unit of achievement. While the traditional Ukrainian wedding rituals were performed by collective participants, the contemporary Ukrainian Canadian wedding rituals tend to be performed by selected individuals.

As Klymasz (1980) has mentioned, traditional Ukrainian weddings used to offer the maximum scope for involvement. In the traditional Ukrainian wedding, the performers of various wedding rituals had numerous local titles and distinctive functions across Ukraine. The main functions of the most important participants – the *svaty, starosty, druzhba, druzhky, boiary* – were important in the traditional Ukrainian wedding. Along with these performers, neighbors and the rest of the villagers took part in a wedding. The participation of the whole village community in an important family event – a wedding – reflected the civil excitement about the marriage (Borysenko, 1988, p.42).

For example, for Lorraine's (couple 24) wedding, one of her church members made the *korovai*. She heard about a custom connected with *korovai* making that required "seven women to get seven eggs, water from seven wells, and flowers from seven fields," but she did not want to follow this custom. Even though Lorraine's mother had made many *korovai* for others, she believed that she should not make a *korovai* for her daughter. Lorraine and her mother wanted to find someone who was of standing high in the community and who had the respect of her contemporaries not only within the church but also within the Ukrainian community. They found a person from their church and asked her to make a *korovai*. As this example suggests, the participants' social roles have changed somewhat in the contemporary weddings of Ukrainian Canadians. Furthermore, many couples attempt to design their weddings in their own individual or creative ways, contributing something new and unique to the larger traditions.

The old Ukrainian weddings used to involve *dramatis personae*. The wedding had a director in the person of the *starosta*. This was a person chosen to act as a master of ceremonies, leading the participants through the various steps of the wedding ritual. The *starosta* was joined in organizational functions by the matchmakers (*svaty*) and the attendants (*druzhby* and *druzhky*). The heroes of the drama were the bride, the groom, and their families, who played out the roles of the wedding characters. The entire action of the wedding drama was described and narrated by a choir. During the wedding ceremony, the bride and groom spoke very little, if at all. The words were often spoken for them by the *starosta* or through the texts sung by the choir. The choir also acted in the capacity of a director, giving instructions to the players through the texts of their songs. Nowadays, weddings of Ukrainian Canadians in Edmonton rarely have *starosta* leading the wedding ceremony. *Druzhby* and *druzhky* are replaced by bridesmaids and groomsmen, and their roles also change. As well, the roles of matchmakers, friends, and even parents at weddings change. Thus, contemporary weddings become different from old Ukrainian weddings and need different roles for the wedding attendants. Since many of the second- and third-generations cannot speak Ukrainian, only a selected choir group or older people can sing a song, usually with the help of printed materials. Certain oral traditions are sometimes transformed into visual symbols. For example, the names of the bride and groom with a certain phrase, such as "*mnohaia lita*," can appear as a decoration on the wall of the stage at the wedding reception hall (see Photo 61). The Ukrainian language is used only in printed materials such as the invitation card, wedding pamphlet, or wedding booklet.

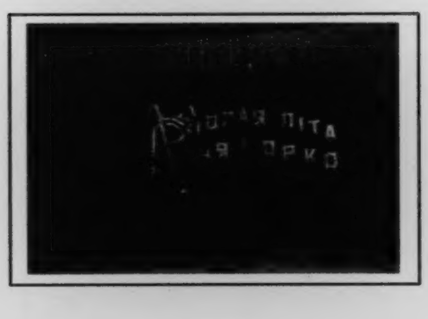


Photo 61
A decoration: the names of the bride and groom with a phrase "*mnohaia lita*"
From Orest and Anna Fialka (couple 2)

4.3. Four types of wedding

The problems posed by the participation of two different families or communities not only in inter-ethnic weddings but also in intra-ethnic weddings must have an unlimited number of solutions. Leeds-Hurwitz (2002) identified four types of weddings in order to show the potential solutions to the problem of designing an intercultural wedding (pp. 51-70). I will discuss in this subchapter how Ukrainian Canadians are able to express themselves through the following four types of weddings.

4.3.1. Weddings that predominantly reflect one culture

Having a wedding that predominantly follows either the bride's or groom's traditions is one way for a couple to express ethnic identification. Leeds-Hurwitz (2002) mentioned that this variant often occurs when one member of the couple considers it quite important to have a wedding conforming to religious or cultural tradition, whereas the other does not particularly care, feels obligated to forego tradition, or willingly gives up tradition for the sake of harmony (p. 52).

Inter-ethnic weddings

Angela (couple 22), a second-generation Ukrainian Canadian, married Insu in 1997, who is of Korean ethnic origin and came to Canada with his parents when he was three years old. Angela and Insu's wedding preparations were difficult because Shung's mother had very specific ideas about their wedding. While Angela wanted a small, intimate wedding, Insu's mother planned a big wedding. Even the decision about the wedding date was not easy to make. The conflict in decision procedure was caused by the cultural differences between two families and two cultures, Korean and Ukrainian Canadian. According to Korean customs, the groom's family sets the wedding date.

Being unaware of this cultural difference, Angela was quite upset when Insu's mother ignored her opinion and decided upon a date, church, and wedding hall on her own. Insu's parents' Korean Baptist church was reserved for the wedding while a hotel in downtown was booked for the reception hall. The hotel can accommodate over three hundred people, the number which Insu's parents planned to invite. Insu's mother wanted a free bar for three hundred guests even though it was too expensive for Insu and Angela. Angela remembered that Insu's mother had wanted Insu to ride on a white horse. Insu believed his mother was just joking, but in the old Korean tradition, the groom usually rode on a white horse while the bride rode in a special carriage. In earlier days, the horse was comparable to a limousine today.

After the wedding day, another ceremony was held at the Insu's parents' house. This ceremony, the *paebek*, took place for the bride and groom to make their first vow as a married couple after their wedding (see Photo 62). This vow was to their parents and was made in the presence of about one hundred guests, including family members on both sides and friends. This ceremony was very much a Korean-style celebration. Most guests were also Korean. Insu and Angela wore traditional Korean clothing. All kinds of Korean foods were prepared. The newlyweds had to fill up two small glasses with sake and present them to their parents before the vows took place. Then Insu and Angela vowed to their parents first and then to other family members. They remember that they vowed around fifteen times. Each time when they vowed to people, people threw many red nuts to Angela, saying, "Have babies as many as you want," and Angela had to catch as many as possible of these nuts with her skirt. After the *paebek* ceremony, the couple opened their gifts and ate lunch.

Photo 62
The *paebek* ceremony
From Insu and Angela Kim (couple 23)

Angela characterized their wedding as "Korean Canadian" because Insu's mother had had such a powerful influence on it. In order to maintain harmony, she had to follow Insu's family tradition.

For other couples, the family that was most attached to their traditions determined what would happen at the weddings.

Wayne (couple 23), who has English origin, did not have any problem with having many Ukrainian elements in his wedding with Lorraine because he thought his family was not very strong in tradition: "They don't have any tradition. . . . There is no sense of ceremony attached to anything." In contrast, Lorraine thought that her family had a very strong sense of tradition: "In terms of things we have observed, I mean, we still observe both Christmases and both Easters because. . . . my mother's side is Catholic and my father's side is Orthodox. . . . So we celebrate both calendars. . . . My parents have been members of church forever. . . . There has always been a strong sense of Ukrainian community there." Wayne said, "If the bride has the strong Ukrainian background and the groom has the strong Japanese background, then you are going to have a big problem. . . . What we really had was [that] . . . the very strong culture that we both recognized either explicitly or implicitly would be reflected in wedding. And that wasn't another one coming to crash because the closest thing that I was brought up in is . . . the western Canadian life style that Lorraine has dealt with since she was born. There really wasn't a crash at all."

Sometimes an inter-ethnic couple gives one culture's tradition pre-eminence during the ceremony based on where they decide to hold the ceremony. In this case, it makes sense to follow the traditions of one country, to the exclusion of the other. According to Leeds-Hurwitz (2002), an American groom marrying an Armenian bride described his participation in a traditional Armenian service that was held in an Armenian church, with most of the service in Armenian, and an Armenian band at the reception, as a way for him to become accepted by the bride's family. He willingly participated in her traditions in lieu of insisting on his own and successfully facilitated his integration as a new member of her family (p. 53).

Intra-ethnic weddings

Since Ukraine became an independent country in 1991, Ukrainian Canadians have had more opportunities than before to find their marital partner among Ukrainian-born people. Some of them met and married their partner in Ukraine while others did so in Edmonton. When a couple marries in Ukraine or Canada, they usually follow the tradition of the country they get married in, incorporating some traditions of the other country into the wedding. However, in the following case, the groom was not able to incorporate his traditions into the wedding plans because the wedding was totally organized by the bride's side in Ukraine. Ken (couple 9), a third-generation Ukrainian Canadian, married Svitlana, a Ukrainian citizen, following the local traditions in Ukraine. Ken and Svitlana had to have an unusual wedding because of the problems caused by their different citizenships. Since they decided to marry in Ukraine, Ken had to prove his legal eligibility to marry Svitlana. The differences between the legal systems in Ukraine and Canada made it difficult for Ken to get Ukrainian approval to marry her. Unexpectedly, they achieved permission to get married from the Ukrainian registration office. Since they had not known if they could register their wedding, they did not prepare any rituals. Thus, with hardly any specific rituals, they had a civic wedding and then parted for one year. Ken had to go back to Canada, and Svitlana was left in Ukraine, waiting for him to come back the following year.

Photo 63
A wedding reception in Ukraine
From Ken and Svitlana Pankiw (couple 9)

Thus, almost a year later, they had their wedding reception in Ukraine. Svitlana's family organized this reception, and Ken did not know what would happen at it. However, Ken had some things from Canada that he wanted to bring to his reception: a Canadian flag (see Photo 63), his Ukrainian embroidered shirt, and music cassettes of Ukrainian traditional wedding songs. The Canadian flag represented his Canadian ethnicity, and his Ukrainian shirt reflected his love for his Ukrainian heritage. Considering that Svitlana would have to leave her family behind in Ukraine, Ken recorded all kinds of traditional songs reflecting sadness she would feel as a bride separated from her family. However, he could not play any of his tapes at the reception because a band had been hired to play modern Ukrainian songs. Ken experienced a totally different kind of wedding reception than he had been used to. He said that the wedding reception was Ukrainian, but was different from that of Ukrainian Canadians in Edmonton. For example, before the reception began, the bride and groom were blessed by the bride's mother with *korovai*, salt and honey. Then the bride and groom entered the hall, while all the guests were waiting outside it. At that time, the guests started to enter the hall and the bride and groom greeted them. After everyone was seated at the tables, which were set in a 'U' shape, the reception began with a speech by the master of ceremonies. Unlike the toasts and speeches given at Ukrainian weddings in Edmonton, the toasts and speeches at Ken's reception continued until people had a break for dancing or smoking. The toasts were not symbolic actions as they are in Edmonton. People toasted with real liquor, and Ken had to drink each time. New foods were regularly served throughout the night. The menu had no limits, so many different kinds of European food as well as Ukrainian food were served from the beginning to the end of the reception. Musicians, who were dressed up in Ukrainian traditional costumes, kept playing various kinds of music, mostly contemporary Ukrainian songs. The next day, at the same place, a second reception that was more casual than the first one was held. In order to show his willingness to participate in the bride's local traditions, Ken responded to each speech and toast, answering in Ukrainian and drinking hard liquor. He successfully became a new member of her family.

4.3.2. Double weddings

Inter-ethnic weddings

Yamani (1998) documented that inter-ethnic couples often hold two entire weddings in two countries to satisfy the families of both sides. In this case, each wedding ceremony follows the traditions of the country in which it occurs. This practice can make everyone on both sides happy because the wedding they see conforms to their expectations. My interview materials do not include an example of a double wedding.[4]

In North America, which is largely Christian, the same issues arise whenever Christians marry people of different religions. In this case, two ceremonies also become a possible solution. Multiple authorities (the secular and sacred) recognize weddings in Canada. The secular authorities normally do not object to recognizing a union between individuals who believe in different religions, but religious leaders often do, thus forcing the couple to have either two ceremonies or none. Sometimes, a couple will have a first, secret civil ceremony, and a second, more formal ceremony with family present. Often, this type of double wedding occurs when the wedding itself is for some reason controversial, and so the couple decides to make a legal commitment before convincing family members to accept its inevitability (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002, p. 55).

One of my informants, Tetyana (couple 27), who came from Ukraine, had two wedding ceremonies, a civic wedding and a church wedding. However, she had a different reason for doing so. Tetyana and Steven planned to have two separate wedding ceremonies on different days, the first for a civic wedding and the second for a church wedding. Just three months after their engagement, they had a civic wedding ceremony with the presence of twenty-five people who were mostly close friends and mainly the groom's immediate family. Then one and a half years later, they had a church wedding, inviting more guests, including Tetyana's parents from Ukraine. The idea to have both a civic and church wedding originated from Tetyana's wish to follow a Ukrainian contemporary wedding tradition. Tetyana explained, "In Ukraine we have a wedding, [we are] actually getting married twice in a same day, [we are] getting married in a . . . it's called Zakhs. . . . [we are] getting married over there, after that [we are] getting married in a church. So I said well, we got married in front of the Justice of Peace and I really, really liked to have a second wedding, truly like in Ukraine." Their civic wedding was performed at a greenhouse in Sherwood Park. Tetyana explained that her civic wedding was a copy of Ukrainian civic wedding. Her case reflects the influence of contemporary Ukrainian culture on the Canadian wedding tradition.

Intra-ethnic weddings

Among my informants, an intra-ethnic couple held two separate ceremonies for several different reasons. First, this bride and groom held two separate ceremonies to honor both their families and communities.

As I explained before, Michael and Gena (couple 11), who are an intra-ethnic couple, had two separate wedding celebrations to express respect for their family, relatives, and friends in Edmonton and Saskatoon. Coordinating two celebrations and making them equal was quite difficult. First, Michael and Gena did not want to have their two separate events far apart. They decided to have their first wedding celebration on September 5, 1998 during the long weekend in Edmonton, and then to have the second celebration a week later on September 12, 1998 in Saskatoon.

Making their invitation card was also difficult because they had to decide how to invite people in two different locations, one in Edmonton and another in Saskatoon. Michael and Gena ended up with a six-sided invitation card, one side written in English and the another in Ukrainian (see Chapter 3, Photo 3, 4). One side explained about the wedding celebration in Edmonton, while the other side dealt with Saskatoon. On the reply card, the guest was asked to check whether he or she wanted to come to Edmonton or to Saskatoon. Although two weddings were held, the participants overlapped, including both the wedding attendants and guests. The *starosty*, four bridesmaids, four best men, two junior bridesmaids and best men attended both celebrations. The same music band and the same *bandurist* choir played in both places. Their friends who performed a mock wedding in Edmonton performed the same ritual in Saskatoon. Michael and Gena had about 370 guests in Edmonton and 260 in Saskatoon for supper. For the gift-opening ceremony, one hundred and twenty people were at the Gena's parent's house, and one hundred were at Michael's parents' house.

Of course, the two wedding celebrations had some differences. Since Michael and Gena were officially married in Edmonton, they did not perform pre-wedding rituals in Saskatoon, such as *vinkopletennia* and others. Also, Michael and Gena had a different church service for their second wedding ceremony. For the wedding service in Saskatoon, they planned to have a blessing. Michael said, "On every 25th anniversary, you have a blessing in a church. Ours just happened to be one week later." In terms of the style of ethnic expression, however, the two wedding celebrations were the same. The same symbols and rituals that incorporated the two family traditions as well as Ukrainian elements were performed in two different places to honour both communities separately.

4.3.3. Weddings that express no ethnic identity

Some of my informants tried not to express their ethnic identity through their wedding, choosing either a "neutral" ceremony, which was often a Canadian mainstream wedding, or a different kind of wedding. Couples choose this type of wedding for various reasons. Among them, the following reasons are very popular. Firstly, if the bride and groom have a serious conflict with their families or religious institutions concerning their decision to marry or their wedding's ritual form, they may choose to have a neutral wedding that does not express any ethnic tradition or require institutional permission. Secondly, if the bride and groom are not from culturally strong families and/or have little knowledge of their own traditions, they often choose to have a mainstream wedding. Thirdly, if the bride and groom's ethnicity might negatively affect their reputation and prestige, they will not express their ethnic identity through their wedding.

Inter-ethnic weddings

Among my informants, one inter-ethnic couple (couple 32) did not want any ethnic elements included in their wedding because both of them were members of ethnic minorities in the mainstream Canadian society, and the groom was from a non-white immigrant family. Thus, they did not want to emphasize their ethnicity and race during the wedding ceremony and preferred to follow the mainstream Canadian wedding rituals.

One of my male interviewees, Peter, who has a Slovakian-origin father and a Ukrainian-origin mother, recalled that over the years, his mother organized three weddings, one for each of his three sisters. None of these weddings had any Ukrainian elements. They were all typical "Canadian" weddings except that one included some expressions of Italian ethnicity because one of his sisters married an Italian-Canadian.

Peter's mother did not want to emphasize Ukrainian ethnicity because she associated it with poverty, hardship, and political repression. Her goal was to become "Canadian." The only expression of Ukrainian ethnicity in Peter's family home was Ukrainian meals, which his grandmother prepared on religious holidays. In fact, he was probably about 25 years old when he first realized that his mother had a Ukrainian background.

Intra-ethnic weddings

Michael and Kara's (couple 15) wedding was an example of a wedding that does not express the bride and/or groom's ethnic identity. Even though both of them are of Ukrainian origin, they did not want to emphasize their ethnicity at their wedding. Once they became engaged, they had to decide what kind of wedding they would like to have. Michael said, "For us, it [our wedding] wasn't a cultural thing because a lot of people planned their wedding in reaction to tradition or culture, but we planned our wedding . . . [because] we wanted to have a day of sharing and celebration, not because tradition dictated, so our first priority was to shape it [our wedding] in the way that we wanted to. . . . " Kara did not want a big wedding, but preferred a very simple one: "I wasn't that kind of girl who grew up dreaming of the big wedding day. We wanted to keep it as simple as possible." One thing they did not want was any commercial influence. Michael said, "Weddings become so commercial. People shop in a hundred different stores. We didn't want to do it. . . . Market place had no place in our celebration." With these principles, they tried to make their wedding as simple as possible, for example, by not having bridesmaids and groomsmen or a head table at their reception: "We didn't have a head table, we sat on among everybody. It wasn't really a wedding, it was a celebration."

Michael and Kara explained why they did not express their Ukrainian ethnicity at their wedding. Kara remembered that she had painted Easter eggs and taken part in other cultural activities, but she had not really been introduced to Ukrainian culture and had not been exposed to it by her parents. Kara said, “When I was young, my parents never took me to Ukrainian church. I never learned Ukrainian. When my parents were growing up, they moved to the city and . . . they became a very . . . part of the city.” Michael also said, “The reason that I am not as Ukrainian as my grandmother is that culture is different. You know I got exposed to a lot of different culture. Canadian culture is multicultural and [Canadian] culture is dominated these days by things other than tradition. Culture is dominated by how much we have, [and] what we own.”

4.3.4. Weddings that combine two families or two ethnic cultures

Both inter-ethnic couples and intra-ethnic couples face the same issue of how to bring their divergent family or ethnic backgrounds together in their wedding. My goal here is to discuss these couples’ creativity in combining symbols of both families and/or both ethnic cultures in a wedding. Those couples that have this type of wedding pay special attention to balancing the ethnic symbols and elements of both sides. As well, these couples display these symbols and elements by giving them equal emphasis.

Inter-ethnic weddings

Creative efforts to incorporate two cultures into a wedding ritual occur more often in inter-ethnic weddings than in intra-ethnic weddings because at an inter-ethnic wedding, two different ethnic cultures meet.

Richard and Sunea (couple 25), who are of Ukrainian and Korean origin respectively, organized Ukrainian and Korean dance performances at their wedding reception (see Photo 64, 65). This idea resulted from a conversation that Richard and Sunea had with Richard's cousin, who told them about her Ukrainian dance class. Richard and Sunea thought it would be very good idea to have a Ukrainian dance during their wedding reception. Suddenly, the conversation about Ukrainian dancing reminded Sunea of her cousin who could dance a Korean fan dance. Richard and Sunea decided to have both Ukrainian and Korean dance performances at their wedding. Because a daughter of Richard's cousin was a dancer at an amateur dance school, the Ukrainian dancers were free of charge. Sunea asked her cousin to perform a Korean fan dance, and her cousin brought her friend to dance with her. Richard and Sunea wanted to have ethnic dance performances because they would be interesting and meaningful for their guests.

Photo 64
A Ukrainian dance performance

Photo 65
A Korean dance performance

From Richard and Sunea Corry (couple 25)

The bride and groom often display several objects together symbolizing each culture. Steven and Tetyana (couple 27) displayed Ukrainian and Dutch cultural symbols together on a table in the reception hall (see Photo 66). Tetyana put a Ukrainian icon as well as *korovai,* wrapped in a *rushnyk*, on the one side of the table, and also displayed a pair of wooden shoes and two tiles on a Dutch mat on the other side of table. One tile depicted a gentleman carving wooden shoes while the other one showed a windmill. All of the Dutch materials were from Steven's mother.

Photo 66
A display: Ukrainian and Dutch heritage items
From Steven and Tetyana Mackey (couple 27)

Steven and Tetyana's wedding color theme also reflected their effort to combine two cultures in their wedding. Tetyana thought that blue was a symbol of Dutch culture because she had seen many Dutch tiles that were painted with blue, white, orange and yellow colors: "I chose blue and white because (they are) the part of his culture." Interpreting Dutch culture in her personal way, she decided to use blue and white while omitting orange and yellow, which are perceived to have negative connotations in Ukraine.

Both the Ukrainian and English languages were spoken at this inter-ethnic couple's wedding. Steven and Tetyana asked their priest to speak Ukrainian to Tetyana and English to Steven during the church service. While the bride spoke her wedding vow in Ukrainian, the groom spoke his in English. Thus, the wedding ceremony was done in both Ukrainian and English.

Many Ukrainian Canadian (inter- / intra-ethnic) weddings incorporate both the *korovai* and wedding cake. Some display three *korovai* and three wedding cakes to create a blending of Ukrainian and Canadian traditions. The traditional Canadian wedding cake has three layers; therefore, to balance it, three *korovai*'s in varying sizes are made. A *korovai* is often decorated with wheat, dough birds and flowers. Some people incorporate *barvinok*, coloured ribbons, dough doves and a small-embroidered towel as decorations on the *korovai*. The ribbons and coloured embroidery used are often specifically matched to the wedding theme colours. This matching of wedding colours also helps to combine different traditions. In keeping with the Canadian colour themes, the Ukrainian *korovai* blends in by incorporating these matching colours through the use of ribbons, flowers and other decorative elements.

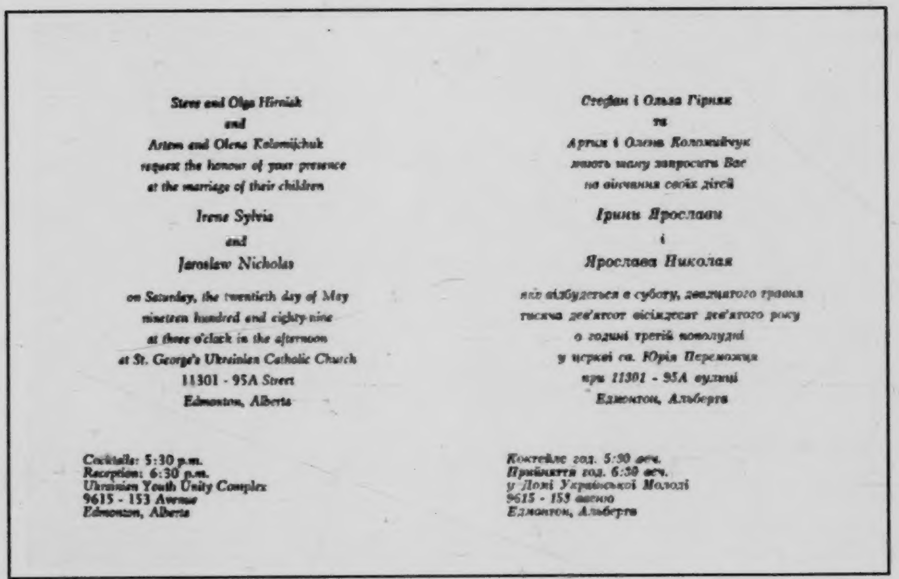
Intra-ethnic weddings

Michael and Gena (couple 11) are both the third-generation Ukrainian Canadians. However, they came from two different provinces. Since their family, relatives and friends live in different areas, they had to decide where to marry first. They decided to have two wedding celebrations in Edmonton and Saskatoon. However, the official wedding ceremony would be held in Edmonton because they were planning to live there after their wedding. Since the first ceremony in Edmonton would have more formal and public meaning, they wanted to incorporate some elements from Saskatoon into their wedding in Edmonton. Their music band, which was one of the most important elements of their wedding, came from Saskatoon. The band members brought an accordion, keyboard, guitar, and drums to Edmonton. Michael and Gena also hired an artist in Saskatoon to make unique, but still traditional looking for their invitation card. A neighbor of Michael's parents was in charge of making four *korovai*, which were brought to Edmonton before the wedding. A Ukrainian dance group from Edmonton performed a dance, and a *bandurist* group from Saskatoon performed music at their wedding reception.

Michael and Gena incorporated two of the most interesting family rituals into their wedding: a mock wedding and an abduction of the bride in *popravyny* after the wedding day (see Chapter 3, p. 109). The mock wedding was part of Michael's family tradition while the abduction of the bride was part of Gena's family tradition.

Intra-ethnic couples often try to combine Ukrainian and Canadian elements into their weddings. Some of these couples have bilingual inscriptions on their wedding-invitation cards. Since the invitations give a good indication of the theme and possible cultural influences at a wedding before the event even begins, an invitation card may indicate how the bride and groom will express their ethnic identification at their wedding. Irene and Jerry (couple 1) believed that just as their wedding was Ukrainian Canadian, so was their ethnic identity. They spoke both Ukrainian and English, so they felt that including both these languages on their invitation cards was a natural thing to do (see Photo 67). (Even though the use of the Ukrainian language reflects the bride and groom's Ukrainian identity, the layout and wording on the invitation card reflects the influence of Anglo-Saxon culture.) Among my informants, the inter-ethnic couples rarely had bilingual inscriptions on their invitation cards because one of the partners and his or her family did not know Ukrainian.

Even at the church service, which is typically very conservative, elements from two different religions can be combined in a wedding ceremony. For example, at the wedding of Tim and Bailey (couple 19), who are Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox, respectively, a priest from each church married them together in a Ukrainian Catholic church.



Steve and Olga Hirniak
and
Artem and Olena Kolomijchuk
request the honour of your presence
at the marriage of their children
Irene Sylvia
and
Jaroslaw Nicholas
on Saturday, the twentieth day of May
nineteen hundred and eighty-nine
at three o'clock in the afternoon
at St. George's Ukrainian Catholic Church
11301 - 95A *Street*
Edmonton, Alberta

Cocktails: 5:30 p.m.
Reception: 6:30 p.m.
Ukrainian Youth Unity Complex
9615 - 153 *Avenue*
Edmonton, Alberta

Стефан і Ольга Гірняк
та
Артем і Олена Коломийчук
мають шану запросити Вас
на вінчання своїх дітей
Ірини Ярослави
і
Ярослава Николая
яке відбудеться в суботу, двадцятого травня
тисяча дев'ятсот вісімдесят дев'ятого року
о годині третій пополудні
у церкві св. Юрія Переможця
при 11301 - 95А вулиці
Едмонтон, Альберта

Коктейлі год. 5:30 веч.
Прийняття год. 6:30 веч.
у Домі Української Молоді
9615 - 153 авеню
Едмонтон, Альберта

Photo 67
Ukrainian-English inscriptions in a invitation card
From Jerry and Irene Kolomijchuk (couple 1)

Ukrainian Canadians have various reasons for using Ukrainian symbols and have numerous sources for learning about and obtaining these symbols. This study shows that ethnic symbols, which are usually very visible and clear in meaning, are not fixed points of tradition, but rather frames of reference and meaning within which ethnics respond to social, political, religious, or economic changes. Also, this study reveals that symbols of ethnicity are not merely static products of ethnic culture. They are, rather, responses or solutions to various situations that characterize, project, and parody everyday life. Ukrainian Canadians use ethnic symbols as ways of expressing themselves as well as ways of bringing the real and ideal worlds more closely into alignment. Through these symbols, Ukrainian Canadians define their ethnic identity in regard to their ethnic past and their present.

Notes

[1] For information on Ukrainian cultural groups organizations, and institutions in Edmonton, please see the following source: Chomiak, N (1978). *Ukrainian Edmonton: A directory of Ukrainian cultural groups, organizations, and institutions in Edmonton.* Edmonton: Ukrainian Canadian Social services.

[2] In Ukrainian tradition the bride was typically abducted. Bohdan's family revived this tradition, but allowed for significant adaptation. Since he is the last of six brothers to be married, family members tried to create a surprising and entertaining experience. They kidnapped the groom instead of the bride in this case.

[3] The national dance tradition has several characteristics: (1) there are three categories of participants – the dancers, their instructor(s) backstage, and the audience seated in rows; (2) dancers wear the "Ukrainian national costume" for a performance; (3) according to the specific repertoire, a staged national dance has a specific physical arrangement; and (4) a national dance involves a larger lexicon of dance motifs than a social dance, and these motifs are rehearsed and memorized by the performers prior to public performance (Nahachewsky, 1994, 76-78).

[4] In order to provide an example of this type of wedding, I will discuss a wedding between a Korean bride and a Canadian groom of Polish origin. They met each other at a meeting of Korean native speakers and Canadian students who had enrolled in a Korean language class at a Canadian university. The bride was interested in meeting a Canadian who could teach her English while the groom expected to meet someone who could teach him Korean. Their friendship continued until the bride returned to Korea. Since the groom liked her and wanted to continue learning Korean in Korea, he applied for a "study abroad" program that would allow him to take some courses at a Korean university. Finally, he went to Korea, where he continued to develop his relationship with his bride. The groom decided to propose marriage to her before coming back to Canada. She was very happy to receive his proposal, but her family was not. In Korean society, which is exclusively mono-ethnic, inter-ethnic marriage is not welcomed and often causes serious conflicts between generations, particularly as many inter-ethnic marriages between Korean women and American soldiers have ended unhappily. Korean parents usually feel that they are losing face when their child marries a non-Korean. As a result, the Canadian groom had great difficulty in gaining the bride's parents' permission to marry their daughter. Fortunately, the bride and groom could have a wedding ceremony in Seoul. However, her parents did not invite any people except for close family members. Only a few people were present at their wedding in Korea: the bride and groom, and the bride's family, and the *Jurie* (the Justice of Peace). This wedding was a modern-style Korean wedding at a wedding hall, but was different from other weddings because it was very quiet with few attendants. After coming back to Canada, the groom and bride had a very typical Canadian wedding. However, even though the bride's parents participated in the second wedding, they could not help worrying about their daughter's future with an unfamiliar man in an unfamiliar place.

Chapter 5: Community

Cohen (1985) argued that a 'community' involves two related factors: the members of a group have something in common with each other, and the thing held in common distinguishes them significantly from the members of other possible groups (p. 12). "Community," thus, implies both similarity and difference: "The most striking feature of the symbolic construction of community and its boundaries is its oppositional character. The boundaries are relational rather than absolute; that is, they make the community in relation to other communities" (p. 58).

For Barth (1969), the ethnic boundary defines the group, not the cultural material that encloses it. The history of an ethnic group is not the history of its culture. The culture of a specific group at a specific time is not, Barth argued, the continuation of the group's culture at a previous time, but rather the result of the constant negotiation and renegotiation of the group's identity and boundaries, which often depend more on the same process operating in other groups, and the larger social and political context, than on the group's internal structure (p. 68). This principle of distinction is considered the central mechanism of identity construction; for example, Hall (1991), wrote, "To be English is to be yourself in relation to the French and the hot-blooded Mediterranean, and the passionate, traumatized Russian soul. You go round the entire globe: when you know what everybody else is, then you are what they are not. Identity is always, in that sense, a structured representation which only achieves its positive through the narrow eye of the negative" (p. 21).

Sometimes different members of a community, or outsiders with different perspectives, may define a "community" or the "boundaries" of a community differently.

Social boundaries are socially created in the interactions between members of the social entity and between different social systems. An ongoing process of boundary construction is a constant cognitive and interactive process. This mapping activity is important to pattern maintenance.

"Community" simultaneously implies similarity and difference, both commonality and exclusion. Thus, a community implies and creates a boundary between 'them' and 'us,' between 'outside' and 'inside.' This boundary is marked in symbolic ways. The boundaries of a community have many types of symbolic markings such as flags, badges, dances, foods, or languages. A wedding across group boundaries redefines where the boundaries lie, with bride and groom serving forever after as mediators joining two previously separate groups (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002, p. 22).

In Chapter 1, I divided the "Ukrainian community" into two groups of people: "nominal" and "active" Ukrainian Canadian communities. This present chapter focuses on the "active" Ukrainian Canadian community and its members' and organizations' roles in the symbolic construction of a Ukrainian Canadian community. This chapter discusses how various Ukrainian ethnic organizations promote Ukrainianness and create Ukrainian symbols at Ukrainian Canadian weddings. This study does not claim that all Ukrainian groups within the same system are identical or that total consensus occurs in intra-group relations. Variations can occur within and among Ukrainian ethnic groups because intra-group and individual expressions of identity and ethnicity can change through time and circumstance. Any change, in turn affects the sense of community within the group.

In this chapter I emphasize the 'producers' of weddings more than the main actors (the bride and groom, their parents, and wedding party). In other words, this chapter discusses those who play a certain role in the production of a wedding ceremony. They can be priests, church choirs members, hall managers, cooks, *korovai* makers, ethnic-dance-group members, and others. Thus, this chapter will focus on the perspectives of the producers of weddings, viewing a wedding as a cultural product of a modern society and examining if any traditions have been incorporated or created by the wedding participants or producers to express ethnic identification.

5.1. Church institutions

Formal religious ceremonies should not fall within the realm of folklore studies since these ceremonies are dictated by official Church doctrine (Lindal, Rikoon & Lawless, 1979, p. 25). However, we can still study the kind of informal vernacular practices that are performed during official church services. In our case, a number of informal elements in Ukrainian marriage services are loaded with significance as Ukrainian symbols.

Not only many Ukrainian Canadians, but also many non-Ukrainians believe that Ukrainian church rituals make a wedding "Ukrainian." Although certain church rituals must be present to make a wedding valid, several others apparently can be omitted or added without altering a service's validity. Some of my informants mentioned that they were asked whether they wanted to walk around the *tetrapod* (a small altar) and whether they wanted their own wreaths or church-owned crowns placed upon their heads during the church service. A bride also mentioned that her mother had suggested having "one person from each side of the family holding icons in church" (Cherwick, 1990, p. 6). Although they are traditional components of a Ukrainian wedding, they, rituals such as tying the couple's hands together and drinking from a common cup, are not always included. Couples are asked whether they want to include these traditions.

Two denominations with ethnic significance are most common among Ukrainian Canadians in Edmonton: Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Greek Catholic. These two denominations share the same Church rite, the Eastern [Byzantine] rite. Theoretically, the two churches are supposed to practice the same church rituals. However, in Edmonton, the Ukrainian churches' rites of holy matrimony have several differences. In this chapter I discuss the similarities and differences among several Ukrainian parishes' matrimonial rites and also explains the reasons for the different practices, paying attention to expressions of identity and ethnicity.

Among the thirty-two couples that I interviewed, twenty couples had married in Ukrainian churches (Orthodox - 8, Catholic - 12) while three had married in Roman Catholic churches, four in Protestant churches, and five in other places. According to the 1981 census's figures for "the Population of People of Ukrainian Ethnic Origin By Religion" (Table 8, Chapter 2), 46.2 % of the Canadian-born Ukrainian population belonged to Ukrainian churches. Around 77 % of my informants, who were born mainly in Canada, said that they belonged to Ukrainian churches. This finding indicates that my interview sample is not representative. My limited interview data do not allow me to make generalizations about quantitative trends in Ukrainian Canadian weddings in Edmonton.

Edmonton has nine Ukrainian Catholic and five Ukrainian Orthodox parishes and a number of other Orthodox parishes. For this study, I chose the following four Ukrainian parishes in Edmonton: St.Basil's Ukrainian Catholic Parish, St. Josaphat's Ukrainian

Catholic Parish, St. George's Ukrainian Catholic Parish and St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Parish. I chose these three Ukrainian Catholic churches because in a Ph.D. dissertation, Matiasz (1994) compared them in terms of their expressions of identity and ethnicity. Questioning members of those three churches about whether specific symbols are Ukrainian,[1] Matiasz discovered that even though all three parishes practiced the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Rite, each varied slightly from the other two. Her study demonstrated that variation exists within and among ethnic parishes. Intra-group and individual expressions of identity and ethnicity through religion may change according to time and circumstance (Matiasz, p. 124).

5.1.1 Four Ukrainian parishes

Matiasz (1994, pp. 96-99) provided detailed information about three Ukrainian Catholic churches. According to her, St. Basil's parish members were upwardly mobile, professional, third-or fourth-generation Ukrainians who spoke English more than Ukrainian and who had negotiated an ethnic image that emphasized a Canadian identity rather than a Ukrainian one. St. Josaphat's parish had a mixture of all immigrants' and immigrants' descendants' generations. It included descendants of first-wave immigrants and also those of the second and third waves. Matiasz reported that the members of St. Josaphat's parish had negotiated a hybrid Canadian-Ukrainian identity that fluctuated according to the circumstances and socio-economic status of both individuals and Ukrainian sub-groups within the wider Canadian socio-economic and political climate. St. George's parish's members were mainly post-World War II immigrant Ukrainians. Matiasz mentioned that the members of this parish were especially concerned with issues involving contemporary Western Ukraine. This parish's members were perceived internally and externally as predominantly Ukrainian-speaking and as very concerned with political freedom and nationhood in Ukraine. One measure of this concern was "the collective goal for the establishment of a patriarchate in the diaspora as a manifestation of political and religious self-determination and ultimately, in time, of [Ukrainian national] independence" (p. 98).

In addition to these three Ukrainian Catholic churches, I also included St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church in this present study because of this church's strong church tradition. St. Andrew's church members are mainly third- or fourth-generation Ukrainians who speak English more than Ukrainian. A few members are second-generation Ukrainians, and this parish has very few recent immigrants.

For this research, I had two hypotheses:

(1) Church institutions play a positive role in promoting a sense of Ukrainianness and preserving Ukrainian wedding customs among Ukrainian Canadians.

(2) The elements of the matrimonial rites of each church may differ because the methods of expressing identity and ethnicity through religion can differ in each parish. For example, St. George's Parish may have more cultural and religious elements in its matrimonial rite because the parish members are more recent immigrants who speak Ukrainian and are attached to Ukrainian traditions and concerned about current issues in Ukraine.

I interviewed a priest in each church and asked questions about each church's rite of holy matrimony. In the following table, I compare the matrimonial rites of the four Ukrainian parishes. The table presents the current wedding service of each church. However, the rite of each church can differ from the findings presented here, depending on the following elements: (1) a priest might have a stronger or weaker association with tradition than

Table 13: Comparison of the rite of matrimony of four Ukrainian churches in Edmonton

The order of church service	**St. Basil's Ukrainian Catholic Church**	**St. Josephat's Ukrainian Catholic Church**	**St. George's Ukrainian Catholic Church**	**St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Church**
The betrothal in the vestibule	Yes (few)	Yes (few)	Yes (mostly)	Yes (60%)
The giving of rings (in the traditional way of betrothal)	**Yes (in the front)**	**Yes (in the vestibule)**	**Yes (in the vestibule)**	**Yes (in the front)**
The entrance into the church, led by the priest	Yes (few)	Yes (few)	Yes (mostly)	Yes (60%)
The wedding icons, carried in the wedding procession	Yes (few)	Yes	Yes	Yes
The Candles, held by the couple	No	No	No	Yes
The Candles on the altar, lit by parents	Yes	Yes (if requested)	No	Yes (very few)
Marriage vow	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Kneeling on a white cloth or kneeler	Yes	No (standing)	Yes	Yes
The rite of crowning	**Yes (crown or wreath)**	**Yes (crown or wreath)**	**Yes (crown or wreath)**	**Yes (crown and/or wreath)**
The Readings	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
The common cup	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
The Joining of the Right Hands with embroidered cloth	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
The ceremonial walk	No (optional)	Yes	Yes	Yes
Venerating the icons by the couple during the ceremonial walk	No	No	No	Yes
The removal of the crowns	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
The Blessing of the bride and groom	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
The Blessing of the bride	No (optional)	Yes	Yes	Yes (few)
Signing of the registry	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mnohaia lita **(May God grant many happy years)**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**	**Yes**
Placing the icons on the hands of the couple, by the priest	No	No	No	Yes

other priests in the same parish, (2) the bride and groom might request that certain rituals be either included or included, and (3) a priest from another parish might perform the rite.

The table indicates that the marriage rites in all four parishes have more similarities than differences. Among these four parishes, St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox church includes the most symbolic elements and rituals. Among the three Ukrainian Catholic churches, St. Basil's church has the fewest symbolic elements and rituals. All four churches share the following basic structure: the betrothal (the exchange of rings) and the marriage (the rite of crowning, the reading, the blessing of the bride and groom, the registry, and the singing of *Mnohaia lita*).

5.1.2 Churches and the promotion of Ukrainianness

My first hypothesis is that church institutions play a positive role in promoting a sense of Ukrainianness. My fieldwork materials indicate that the four Ukrainian parishes incorporate Ukrainian elements into their matrimonial rites and promote a sense of Ukrainianness among Ukrainian Canadians. The ethnic symbols or elements that the Ukrainian churches incorporate into their matrimonial rites are embroidered cloth(s), wreaths, Ukrainian songs, and/or the Ukrainian language.

In this subchapter, I focus on how Ukrainian Churches influence Ukrainian Canadians to promote a sense of Ukrainianness in their weddings. However, I also provide examples of non-Ukrainian churches or institutions that also allow Ukrainian Canadians to express their Ukrainianness through their wedding rituals. Father Gabriel of St. Basil's Parish explained that an inter-ethnic couple asked him to assist a priest to marry them in a Roman Catholic Church. The presence of a Ukrainian priest in a non-

Ukrainian church reflects the Ukrainian bride or groom's ethnic and religious identity. Grant and Karen's (couple 14) wedding also indicated that Ukrainian elements and Ukrainianness can be added and promoted in a wedding ceremony which is performed in non-church institution.

Rushnyky (embroidered cloths) are often used in Ukrainian churches for several purposes. First, a *rushnyk* is placed so that the couple can stand on it in front of the altar area. Second, one is used for tying the right hands of the bride and groom during the ceremonial walk. Third, a rushnyk is also used for covering the table of registry. These usages of Ukrainian embroidered cloths reflect Ukrainian ethnicity. According to the *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church* (1975), Russian Orthodox churches use a different material instead of embroidered cloth in front of the altar:

> It is customary, at the beginning of this Office, to lead the bridal pair upon a piece of new, rose-coloured material (or a new rug), which is spread before the lectern. In olden days the Russian Tzars and their brides were led upon a piece of flowered silken material and sable skins (sometimes as many as forty in number), which were intended as emblems of happiness and plenty in the new path upon which they were entering. This is the significance in general. (p. 604)

According to a pamphlet, *The Symbolism of the Eastern Orthodox Marriage Rite* (2002), the white running cloth is supposed to be used for this purpose: "The couple stand on a white cloth throughout the rite of Crowning. This cloth represents the road of life, which, from this day forward, they will walk as one." This example of using different materials for the same purpose indicates that certain rituals can be ethnicized by using specific ethnic-heritage materials.

Another example of how church rituals can be ethnicized is "the Crowning." The *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church* explains the differences between the Russian and Greek versions of this ritual: "The crowns represent the honour and reward bestowed upon the wedded pair for the purity of their lives. In Greece the crowns are woven of olive leaves (emblematic of fruitfulness), or of laurel, intertwined with flowers. But in Russia, metal crowns are kept in the churches. They are adorned with icons (*ikóni*); that of our Lord Jesus Christ being upon the crown of the bridegroom, and that of his holy Mother upon that of the bride" (p. 604). In Ukrainian churches in Edmonton, either a crown or a wreath or both can be used for the Crowning. Some Ukrainian churches follow the folk tradition of wearing a *vinok* for the Crowning. The Russian Service book claims "the Crowning" indicates an ethnic difference when it was earlier likely to have been more related to social class. The lower class might have used wreaths while the higher classes used crowns.

The use of the Ukrainian language for the church service and Ukrainian choral singing are another two elements that make weddings "Ukrainian." Most songs during the service are restricted to response songs and religious hymns. However, Ukrainian songs are sometimes sung during the registry or at the end of the ceremony. For example, at Tim and Bailey's (couple 19's) wedding, Bailey's bridesmaids and one of her choir members sang a Ukrainian song as a gift for the couple during the registry. A well-known traditional song, "*Mnohaia lita*," is usually sung to announce not only the end of ceremony but also the beginning of a new life with God's blessing. *Mnohaia lita* originated from Byzantine tradition taken to Ukraine officially in 988. However, this song has been used much as "folk" song and transmitted orally. Now, in Edmonton, this song has become so popular among Ukrainian Canadians that it has become a Ukrainian symbol.

In all four Ukrainian churches, "*Mnohaia lita*" is customarily sung by the choir or all participants at the end of the ceremony. Father Gabriel emphasized the importance of this song at Ukrainian Canadian weddings: "They [the young generations] can throw out everything, but not the '*Mnohaia lita'*." Father Planchak also emphasized the religious meaning of this song: "*Mnohaia lita*, that's always [sung in weddings] in Ukrainian, [or in] English. Well, we sing it in all happy occasions not only in church, but also outside the church. It is also like a prayer, you know, many many years God bless them. It is like a church hymn. It became a religious expression."

The co-operation of church organizations also plays an important role in promoting a sense of Ukrainianness. Church choirs in particular contribute to making a wedding special and Ukrainian. All weddings are special, but a good church choir is perceived as a kind of "icing on the cake" (Pacholok). Church choirs usually provide a voluntary service at weddings. Each church choir has a different tradition and service. According to Roman Kravec, who is a member of St. Basil's church choir, around eight or more people from the church choir sing for the choir and parish members' weddings. However, the choir can sing for non-church members' weddings if the choir is requested to do so. In this case, the singers can be paid a small amount of money as a gratuity, but singing is absolutely voluntary. According to the language preference of the bride and groom, the choir can sing response songs and hymns in English or Ukrainian. In contrast, St. Josaphat's Church choir sings only for the choir members' weddings. Also, songs are sung only in Ukrainian. Thus, for non-choir members' weddings, St. Josaphat's priests recommend other Ukrainian choirs to the bride and groom. St. George's parish does not have its own choir. However, some church members, who are active singers in other choir groups, sing at weddings in the church. Father Tarasenko usually gives couples a list of those choir singers. Couples also can arrange by themselves to hire other Ukrainian choirs. At St. Andrew's Orthodox Church, in contrast, only its own church choir or cantor(s) can sing at weddings. Father Lakusta usually lets the bride and groom choose between St. Andrew's church choir and its cantor(s). In most cases, the bride and groom prefer the church choir. Usually, around thirty choir members sing at a wedding. It is customary for the bride and groom to donate a specified amount of money for the choir service. All songs for the church service are chosen by the choir and should be religious songs. During his eight years of service at St. Andrew's church, Father Lakusta has witnessed only three or four times when the church choir could not sing at a wedding. In those cases, Father Lakusta arranged for other Ukrainian choirs to sing.

Not only church-choir members, but also other church members, such as the church-hall manager, hall helpers, the cook, and kitchen helpers do voluntary work at wedding events in their churches. Since a Ukrainian church usually has its own hall, wedding receptions are often held in it. According to Mrs. Malanchuk, who has been a manager of St. Josaphat's Parish hall for six years, the number of wedding receptions held in the hall varies each year. Two years ago, during the summer, three receptions were held in the hall each month, while this year, one wedding reception has been scheduled per month so far. The bride and groom typically have to book the hall one year or one and half years in advance. The church hall is available not only for church members but also for non-church members or non-Ukrainians. Those who had attended their relative's or friend's wedding and have been satisfied with the service often want to have their wedding reception in St. Josaphat's hall. Also, the reasonable rental price is another attraction. The hall is very close to the church, so that many couples choose this hall because of its convenience.

The decoration of the hall is up to the bride and groom. However, some church halls already have their own decoration, reflecting Ukrainian ethnicity and heritage symbols. Hall managers often provide photos, which were taken at the previous wedding reception, and give the bride and groom some idea of how to decorate the hall and how to set up the head table and where to display the *korovai* and wedding cake. Mrs. Malanchuk usually asks a couple for permission to take photos at a reception. Then she shares these pictures with new couples and gives them an idea of how to decorate the hall. She recommends that new couples have *korovai* and Ukrainian foods. She often introduces these couples to *korovai* makers who are also church members. She also prepares a Ukrainian embroidered cloth for covering the podium and provides vases with Ukrainian designs. Thus, any couple wanting to add an extra heritage item to their weddings can use them for decorations. St. Josaphat's parish hall has three kinds of set menus, each of which include Ukrainian foods. Cabbage rolls and *pyrohy* are the most popular Ukrainian foods that the bride and groom usually prefer. The hall can alter the menu. Besides cabbage rolls and *pyrohy*, the couple can have additional side orders, such as baked *pyrizhky* and *borshch*. The committee in charge of managing the hall has regular meetings and decides the menu. The hall has a professional chef, but the other people who work for wedding events are all volunteers. Thus, the bride and groom can obtain all the necessary services and support from church organizations and their members.

The bride and groom are the major actors in and producers of their own wedding. However, Ukrainian church communities also play an important role in creating elaborate and ethnic elements for weddings. Throughout the preparation process for a wedding, not only the priest but also the choir, the hall manager, cook, *korovai* maker and other volunteers can advise the bride and groom about what Ukrainian Canadian weddings should be like as well as what items should be included and how to display them. Ukrainian church organizations transform Ukrainian Canadians' weddings from a private to a public display. Using their cohesive church organization, church members help to put on a wedding event, creating a sense of community. Relying on the religious and communal resources of the large Ukrainian communities in Edmonton, Ukrainian Canadians make a wedding a telescoped representation of many ethnic symbols.

Ethnicity has been seen as the collective, sociocultural entity of those who share a sense of common origin. From this perspective, all four Ukrainian churches have an identity revolving around the Eastern [Byzantine] Church Rite. The wedding rites at all four parishes have been considered to be legitimate expressions of the Byzantine Rite. However, within this orientation, the rites at each church vary slightly from those of the other three. Durkheim (1975) has commented on the societal power of religion in its transmission of symbols and rituals. At the four churches, symbols have been reinterpreted through popular usage to become symbols of group identity. Religion has provided a strong initial base for social identity, within which the individual can identify, establish, maintain or alter an ethnic identity according to the situation. Therefore, religious organizations have had the function of combining personal expressions with ethno-religious orientations. As Matiaz (1985) mentioned, ethnic groups vary and can be classified according to a range of typologies (p. 124). Religious organizations and their manipulation of ethno-religious symbols have been considered to be creators of a strong intra-group identity.

5.1.3 Comparison of Ukrainian symbols in the parishes

In my second hypothesis, I expected that St. George's parish, compared to the other Ukrainian churches, would express a relatively strong cultural and religious identity through its matrimonial rite because its members are mainly post-World War II immigrant Ukrainians and their children, as well as recent immigrants. Table 13 indicates that this hypothesis is partly correct. Among the three Ukrainian Catholic churches, St. George's parish is relatively stronger in presenting cultural and religious symbols and practicing rituals in the traditional way. For example, according to Father Tarasenko, the priest of St. George's parish, during his four-year service in this church, he had only one case in which the bride wanted the non-Byzantine way of entering the church: walking down the aisle with her father. At St. Basil's and St. Josaphat's parish, almost ninety percent of couples have wanted to have this Canadianized entering ritual. Even in St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox church, according to Father Lakusta, around sixty percent of couples' request this non-Byzantine ritual. At the preliminary meeting with the bride and groom, each priest usually explains not only the traditional matrimonial rite, but also its adapted and optional variations. Father Lakusta told me that before couples go to see a priest, they usually have already decided whether they want to include non-Byzantine elements in their wedding. However, at St. George's parish, according to Father Tarasenko, he does not mention the non-Byzantine elements, and the couples do not usually request them. The betrothal rite becomes different if a couple follows the non-

Byzantine way of entering the church. This rite, which traditionally takes place in the church's vestibule, has to start in the front of the church if the bride chooses to walk down the aisle with her father or parents. In terms of the betrothal rite, St. George's church is the most traditional (Byzantine) of the four churches.

St. Basil's parish and St. Josaphat's parish tend to be more open to adapting non-Byzantine rituals, such as the candle ritual, during which the bride's and groom's mothers light a candle on the altar. According to both priests of those two parishes, couples often request this ritual, and the two churches include this non-Byzantine tradition in their services. In contrast, St. George and St. Andrew's churches rarely practice this ritual. St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox church has a different candle ritual in which the bride and groom are blessed thrice with two candles and then hold them during the sacrament. According to a pamphlet from St. Andrew's church, the candles are like the lamps of the five wise maidens in the Holy Scriptures (Matthew 25:1-13), who, because they had enough oil in their lamps, were able to receive the Bridegroom, Christ, when he came in the darkness of night. By holding the candles, the couple expresses their spiritual willingness to receive Christ, who will bless them throughout the sacrament. This ritual is normally not practiced in the other three Ukrainian Catholic parishes.

Even though the members of St. Andrew's parish are mostly third- and fourth-generation Ukrainian immigrants, this parish tends to include more Ukrainian cultural and religious elements in its matrimonial service than the three Catholic churches do. Father Lakusta mentioned that couples often bring a Ukrainian wedding bread, *korovai*, and display it near the altar. In contrast, the three Catholic priests have never seen a couple bringing a *korovai* to their churches. Furthermore, Father Lakusta remembered that around five years ago, a couple wore traditional garments and walked during their wedding procession from their house to the church, just as couples did in Ukraine. This couple's action is consistent with the observation that some members of the young generations of Ukrainian Canadians feel strongly about the need to express their identity and ethnicity. The Office of Missions and Education in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada distributes educational materials about the Eastern Orthodox marriage rite and establishes which ceremonies will be included in the marriage service of Ukrainian Orthodox churches throughout Canada. A pamphlet, *The Symbolism of the Eastern Orthodox Marriage Rite*, guides the bride and groom in how to prepare for their wedding service. Not only rings, but also candles, white cloths (or Ukrainian embroidered cloths), and wedding icons are recommended for the marriage service in Ukrainian Orthodox churches in Canada. My interview materials indicate that many couples that married in St. John's Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral in Edmonton included most of the same items and rituals in their weddings as those included in weddings in St. Andrew's church. Father Tarasenko stated that Ukrainian Catholic Churches have fewer traditional elements in their church service than Ukrainian Orthodox churches because "There are certain things neglected in the past. There was a certain period in which Roman Catholic was regarded as real Catholic. Now we are coming back to the tradition. [The] Common cup and [the] ceremony [of] walking [around the *tetrapod*] were put aside. But now it is becoming more and more normal."

The rituals that were not always practiced by Ukrainian Catholics were the common cup ritual, tying hands with *rushnyk*, and the ceremonial walk around the *tetrapod*. According to Father Tarasenko, who came from the former Yugoslavia, Ukrainians also did not practice those rituals there because they were associated with the Serbians: "For me, in the country where I came from, we didn't use a common cup, we didn't use walking around, because it was Orthodox [ritual]. Our people said I am not Serbian. Because Serbs do that, we do differently."[2] Father Tarasenko always believed that these ceremonies were "something [Ukrainian Catholics] forgot in [their] history." When he came to Canada, he thought that Ukrainian Catholics should practice the old traditions. The example of the Ukrainians in Yugoslavia shows that certain symbols or rituals can be markers dividing one ethnic group from another. Even though tying hands and the ceremonial walk are Byzantine rituals that both Serbian and Ukrainian churches were supposed to practice, Ukrainians in the former Yugoslavia regarded these rituals as "Serbian" ethnic symbols. As Cohen (1985) explained, the boundaries between ethnic groups are relational rather than absolute. Ethnic groups make their communities in relation to other communities. Father Tarasenko believed that if Ukrainian Catholics in Edmonton accept the neglected rituals as "normal" ones, these symbols can become "ours" and "Ukrainian ethno-religious symbols." Symbols can be reinterpreted through popular usage to become symbols of ethnic group identity.

Sometimes, a different interpretation of a certain ritual can cause different practices in a marriage service. One example is the marriage vow. In many Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox churches in Edmonton, couples make their marriage vow when kneeling on the Ukrainian *rushnyk* before the altar. However, in St. Josaphat's church, the bride and groom always exchange their vows while standing. Father Planchak explained, "Here we don't kneel, we stand. Standing is very solid act. Marriage vow is very solid moment. We don't understand why people should kneel. We are not asking for forgiveness for their sins. So we never ask people to kneel for their marriage vows."

The most significant inter-parish differences have also been seen in terms of an individual's association with traditional or ritual practices. The response "We do practice that in our parish, so it must be Ukrainian" was quite common in the interview responses. According to Matiasz (1985), symbolic markers have been recognized as signposts, or as a means of reflecting a consciousness of common origin. These religious and cultural markers have been accepted as a reflection of a group phenomenon (p. 125).

Among the four priests, the Ukrainian Orthodox priest had the most different view of the young generation's wedding traditions. While the three Catholic priests thought that the young generation tends to follow the old traditions more than they were followed before, the Orthodox priest disagrees. Father Planchak, a Catholic priest, said, " I would say we have more and more young couples like old traditions." Similarly, Father Tarasenko, another Catholic priest, commented, "After Ukraine became independent, people can travel to Ukraine and see their old tradition. Young generation, they are very proud of that. I hope it is going to continue." In contrast, Father Lakusta, an Orthodox priest stated, "Younger people don't understand the meaning of tradition. Those who are intermarrying ethnically and religiously request the modern day's change." He thinks that young couples might request a garden wedding in the future. He sees this as undesirable and expects that his church will face this problem more and more and that more adjustments between the couples' requests and church rituals will be made. Thus, he emphasized the need for education to explain why the Ukrainian church has to follow the traditions that it has to been practicing for centuries. His concern reflects the potential blurring of church requirements and local informal traditions.

5.2. Cultural organizations

One aspect of Ukrainian Canadian weddings that could be considered "traditional" or "Ukrainian" is the Ukrainian dance, choir or musical instrument presentation performed by members of Ukrainian cultural organizations. This is not a tradition in the Ukrainian community at large, but for a more limited population of the members of those organizations. A Ukrainian cultural organization can be considered a secondary social group because it is formal, official, and specialized (Lindal, Rikoon & Lawless, 1979, p. 69), and these wedding dance, song, and instrument presentations are secondary traditions. These particular presentations often provide people with pride in their heritage and a strong sense of Ukrainianness.

In order to explain the dynamic process of creating ethnic identity in Ukrainian cultural organizations, I will discuss not only the cultural organizations' presentations themselves, but also the group traditions that each cultural organization preserves or creates for its own members' weddings. For this study, I interviewed several past and current members of the Ukrainian Shumka Dancers, Ukrainian Cheremosh Dancers, *Verkhovyna* Ensemble, and the Ukrainian Male Chorus. I will discuss the traditions of two of these cultural organizations – the Ukrainian Shumka Dancers and the Ukrainian Male Chorus.

5.2.1 Shumka

The Ukrainian Shumka Dancers initially formed in Edmonton in 1959 to preserve and develop Ukrainian culture through dance. Throughout the organization's history of over 40 years, Shumka members have been proud of its role in setting the standard for Ukrainian dance in Canada. According to an official statement from Shumka (2004, "Profile: The Ukrainian Shumka Dancers"), "Shumka has built an extensive repertoire of original dance theatre pieces that centre on universal themes so as to be meaningful and entertaining to audiences of all backgrounds. . . . The group's popularity and success is evident in the relative synonymity of the name 'Shumka' with 'Ukrainian dance'".

Over 350 Canadians are or have been members of Shumka as dancers, choreographers and volunteer administrators. School teachers, nurses, dentists, students, fashion designers, visual artists, lawyers, accountants and others have had the opportunity to perform as "Shumka Dancers" on stage. Although Shumka is based in Edmonton, members of Shumka have come from all parts of Canada to dance with the company. Dancers train not only in Ukrainian folk dance, but in classical and modern movement styles as well.

Vincent, who is currently a Shumka dancer, was born in Victoria and moved Edmonton to dance with Shumka in 1992. He has danced in Shumka for twelve years. He remembered that he has danced for weddings an average of three or four times per year for the last twelve years. The tradition of dancing at a wedding reception seems to be very long. He assumed that this tradition probably started in the sixties after Shumka was formed in 1959. Since he started dancing in Shumka, the tradition of dancing at a wedding reception has remained quite stable, but a few changes have occurred,

> "Occasionally, we do now more than we used to do is that we let other people participate. It used to be very strict, it had to be Shumka dancers. For example, I was a best-man, he (the groom) got married with a Shumka girl, her sister danced

> with Cheremosh, and her brother-in-law danced with Cheremosh, they [Cheremosh dancers] came to us and practiced '*hopak*.' When I came to Shumka at first, it didn't happen, but this tradition started about three or four years ago. A couple of people from Shumka have joined Volya [in a wedding performance], breaking down the previous tradition." (Vincent)

Officially, Shumka does not dance for weddings, but the "Friends of Shumka" do dance for special occasions like weddings: "When we dance at a wedding, we don't call us 'Shumka,' but the "Friends of Shumka" because Shumka is official. The Friends of Shumka is a sort of after-hour group. If you dance in a wedding, you may not be in good shape, make a mistake. So the Friends of Shumka just get together and dance" (Vincent). The Friends of Shumka usually dance for their members' weddings. However, if someone who quit 10 years ago wants to have Shumka dancers at his or her wedding, the Friends of Shumka might agree to do so. If no one in the group knows him, however, the dancers may decide not to dance at his wedding. Their decision depends on how close the person making the request is to the group.

Shumka often gets requests from non-members to dance at weddings because Shumka usually hires itself out for special occasions. If a complete stranger requests a dance performance at a wedding, Shumka usually charges a fee for its performance. Since this fee is quite high, Shumka usually advises the stranger to contact Shumka's junior group. As well, if someone who is a relative of a Shumka dancer wants to have Shumka dancers at his or her wedding, the relative can contact some of Shumka's dancers and organize a dance on his or her own.

Dancers usually practice several times before a wedding. Shumka's regular dance practice is held from 7:00 to 10:30 on Monday and Wednesday. After the regular practice, both current dancers and former dancers can join the dance practice for a wedding. This practice lasts until 11:00. The dance performed at weddings is usually the "*hopak*," and everyone knows how to do it, having practiced it many times. However, the dancers must practice in each person's spot because their positioning changes according to the number of couples in the specific performance.

Because of the size of Shumka's group, the bride and groom cannot usually invite all its dancers to their wedding dinner. Thus, the dancers are usually invited to the reception after the dinner: "For example, one of my friends who used to be a Shumka dancer sent me a card and said "Please come to my wedding," which meant I am not invited to the dinner, but he still wants me to come and dance and stay after for the party. If you are invited to the dinner, it is assumed that you are going to dance" (Vincent).

A performance by Shumka dancers at a wedding increases the prestige of the bride and groom and their families. Shumka members are in a kind of competition to have as many dancers as possible perform at their wedding. Vincent said, "There is a kind of competition, but it is really not a competition, it is more prestigious thing if you have more people dancing in your wedding." Thus, Shumka members can benefit by marrying while they are in Shumka so that its members can all dance at their wedding.

At weddings, Shumka traditionally dances a "*hopak*," which lasts about three or four minutes. This version differs from the normal one in length, format and music. This short version of "*hopak*" is standard and is usually practiced in the same way. However, changes can always be made. Vincent gave an example: in October 1994, a dance instructor had a wedding. He was a very popular person and teacher among the Shumka members at that time. Thus, everyone wanted to give him a very special dance performance. Shumka usually performs a special (a short) version of the "*hopak*" for a wedding, but, this time, the dancers performed a regular "*hopak*," which lasts for about 8 minutes. The groom actually expected to see the short version of the "*hopak*" dance as usual, but the dancers performed the regular "*hopak*." They began as if they would perform a regular "*hopak*" and danced for two minutes. There were 25 couples, all young dancers. After they had began to dance, the music suddenly stopped. Twenty-five older dancers came out and joined the first 25 couples. Vincent commented, "So fifty couples, one hundred dancers danced together. It was huge and amazing."

In other cases, the format changes the choreography. In the "*hopak*," the solo dancers are supposed to dance several "tricks," which have some special connection to the bride and groom: "We try to do what he [a groom] has known, old tricks, sometimes we dress people up in a character costume that the person remembers. Sometimes it is funny and sometimes it is emotional" (Vincent). The format of the "*hopak*" is set, but this format leaves room for improvisation in order to surprise the bride and groom.

Shumka also follows the tradition of Ukrainian dance groups in which dancers present bread and salt. As well, Shumka has incorporated another tradition, the presenting of a gift to the bride and groom. Their close friends are supposed to present the gift. In some cases, if someone really wants to dance for the bride and groom but cannot because of a physical problem or pregnancy, that person is chosen to present the gift. The gift is usually a "*baran*," which symbolizes fertility, and is made by a local Ukrainian pottery artist. Shumka began practicing this tradition before Vincent joined the group. The bride's maid of honour is supposed to go to the potter to get the gift.[3]

Another gift is a watercolour painting of the four seasons. This tradition was started in 1995 because Shumka performed a dance called the "Four Seasons" that year. Shumka female dancers present this painting to the bride at the bridal shower. For the groom, Shumka's male members have a stag at which they sing "*Mnohaia lita*" in a pub. Also, the people at the stage sit in a circle and pass around vodka and make a toast. Everyone takes off the bottle cap, has a shot, makes a toast to the groom, and then passes the bottle on to the next person. For Shumka's male members, this activity is a tradition.

Vincent said that the dancing is the "company's way of thanking and wishing a person a happy and successful married life." Vincent emphasized that the performance is an intangible gift from Shumka's members and that it has great emotional impact: "You can't buy it from a store. You can only get it by being in the family of Shumka. Of course they [dancers] are not from central Ukraine. But they all dance, laugh, sweat and cry together." For other guests, the dancing is a form of entertainment. Vincent did not believe that the dancing affects these guests emotionally in the same way; rather, it is "cool stuff for the outsider." However, he thinks that the "*hopak*" represents their [Ukrainian Canadian guests] connection with Ukrainian culture.

Shumka has also recently created another tradition. During the *kolomyika*, which has become a tradition at Ukrainian Canadian weddings, the Shumka dancers perform a dance "throw": "All the guys hold hands and grab the groom by the ankles on the hands. Then they toss him back and forth. That's not a Ukrainian thing. It is a gymnastic or cheerleader's thing. But Shumka brought it into the "*hopak*." This activity has become a part of Shumka's traditions. Vincent said, "If Shumka means Ukrainian, and then it becomes Ukrainian." He also explained, "All the girls go in and make a circle with [the bride] and do several steps."

According to Vincent, about 75% of Shumka's members have (single or multiple) Ukrainian ethnic origin. Most of them do not speak Ukrainian. Vincent explained that many young [Ukrainian] Canadians join Shumka because membership in it is perceived to be prestigious. Its members can travel throughout the world, making good friends and establish new bonds with people. Also, the dancers feel good about being Ukrainian when they practice and perform Ukrainian dances. Vincent explained one reason for joining Shumka: "I want to be Ukrainian unconsciously, feel good to be Ukrainian, doing Ukrainian stuff." Vincent continued, "When you perform it, you remember why you are doing it. When you perform it, you remember your Ukrainianness. So [they say] "My culture is so cool" even though they don't do anything else Ukrainian."

5.2.2 The Ukrainian Male Chorus in Edmonton

In the past, when invited, the choir has performed at the weddings of choir members' relatives. The choir has lately performed at the weddings of choir members' children. On these occasions, the choir members are asked to sing the church service, and their songs cannot vary from this traditional service. However, if invited to the reception, they perform a few numbers for the wedding party and guests – always ending with the traditional "*Mnohaia lita*."

As individual invited guests, the choir members are responsible for giving their own gifts, but as a choir, their gift is their songs. Sometimes the performances at the more informal settings are free for members. Often, the choir may receive a token honorarium for a performance, and the choir also usually is given free drinks, sometimes accompanied with snacks.

The choir also performs at non-choir members' weddings and funeral services, anniversaries, and other special occasions. People who want to hire the choir usually contact one of its members. Word of mouth is the best advertising. The choir seldom advertises in the newspapers. Perhaps once a year in the *Ukrainian News*, the choir promotes a particular concert. The choir does charge a fee for its performances at non-members' weddings. All choir members are volunteers, including the director. As members, they do not get paid to perform at any function. All funds raised from any performance go directly into the choir fund. This money helps pay for commissioning new music and for any choir expenses such as travel costs, booking concert halls, and other miscellaneous expenses.

The choir decides to sing at each wedding on an individual basis. If the choir is not already busy on that particular date, the choir will ask how many members can attend the wedding. If there are enough volunteers, the choir will accept. A group of 12 - 15 performers is usually the minimum, but the choir prefers to have more if possible. Sometimes, accepting a wedding invitation months ahead of a wedding is difficult. Many weddings take place during the summer when some members tend to be away on holidays. The choir never turns away any wedding requests if enough people can sing. Usually, only choir members' families ask the choir to perform at the wedding receptions. For the weddings of non-members, the choir is usually asked to sing only at the church service.

Greg strongly believes that a wedding is made extra special by the presence of a good choir: "After a service, many times people will come up to us and voice their appreciation for our efforts. All weddings are special, but a good choir is kind of 'the icing on the cake.'"

5.2.3 Invented traditions and genuine traditions

The traditions that Shumka and Ukrainian Male Chorus practice for their members' weddings can be interpreted as symbolic expressions of Ukrainian Canadian ethnicity. One can assume that the example of these two organizations supports Bakalian's (1995) argument that "Symbolic ethnicity is . . . expressed through institutions that . . . combine ethnicity with other interests, such as dance, music, athletic clubs, travel clubs, festivals, parades" (p. 45). Since these two institutions are organized to promote Ukrainian culture, their existence recalls Porter's (1975) admonition that "the obligation to conserve culture is different from the obligation to live it" (p. 300). Not all members speak Ukrainian or participate in any Ukrainian activities except for Ukrainian dancing or singing. Thus, from the perspective of Bakalian, who differentiates between "feeling ethnic" and "being ethnic," the members can be viewed to some degree as just feeling Ukrainian, not living as Ukrainians.

According to Bakalian (1995), for symbolic Armenian-Americans, voluntary associations need to combine an instrumental motive and ethnicity in order to attract members. Ethnic associations that combine professional interests, scholarly or academic interests, dance, sports, or other recreational interests with ethnic allegiance are more likely to be successful than other ethnic associations. Ethnic associations have little patience for amateurs, inefficient bureaucracies, and mediocre results. Moreover, such organizations should not be greedy institutions (p. 439). Shumka and the Male Chorus seem to have the elements that Bakalian believed are necessary for the voluntary associations of symbolic Armenian-Americans. From this point of view, Ukrainian identity is a "preference" (Zenner, 1985, p. 118), and Ukrainianness is a "state of mind" (Crispino, 1980, p. 160).

However, I will suggest a different interpretation by introducing the concept of the "invention of traditions." Based on this concept, I also will suggest the need to pay special attention to those traditions that the two cultural organizations invented to create something that had not previously existed. Through this approach, I will emphasize that the Ukrainian Canadian wedding is a cultural product of a modern society.

The concept of the "invention of traditions" is usually attributed to Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), who claimed that "'traditions' which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented" (p. 1). Handler and Linnekin also mentioned that "the invention of tradition is selective: only certain items . . . are chosen to represent traditional national culture, and other aspects of the past are ignored or forgotten" (as cited in Goldstein-Gidoni, 1997, p. 5). From this perspective, the traditions of Shumka and the Ukrainian Male Chorus can be interpreted as I am doing here. Those items that are chosen to represent traditional Ukrainian culture are the following: (1) the wedding tree and *divych vechir*, (2) *baran*, (3) the painting themes, (4) the dance presentation, (5) the free dance – the *kolomyika*; "throw," and (6) "*Mnohaia lita*" and other Ukrainian songs.

As I described in Chapter 3, Shumka has for many years been adopting the tradition of decorating a wedding tree (*derevtse*). The idea of making a *derevtse* came out of the old folk tradition, but the ritual was stylized in form and conveyed various meanings, as a symbol of not only life and of Ukrainian identity but also of the relationship between a bride and the people closest to her.

The tradition of specifically presenting a "*baran*" or "four seasons" painting did not exist in traditional weddings in other contexts.[4] The symbolic meaning, "fertility," is here re-emphasized in the modern wedding through the presentation of an artistic creation. Every Shumka girl who marries receives a 'four seasons' painting. It contains old symbols that have been artistically reorganized and stylized. Presenting this picture is a new way to connect a person to his or her ethnic group.

Choreographed stage dance was introduced to Canada by Vasile Avramenko in 1925.[5] However, it is unclear when it started being performed in wedding rituals. Choreographed dances by special groups at weddings more likely became popular around the 1960s or 1970s. By this time, the community hall had become the preferred location for a wedding, and Ukrainian dances were performed inside the hall.

In the 1960s, the Red Army Chorus, the Moiseyev Ensemble (1961 and 1965) and the Ukrainian State Virsky Ensemble (1962 and 1966) went on tour in Canada and influenced the creation of a Canadian theatrical dance tradition. From this moment, the folk dance tradition was transformed from a social into a national, or theatrical tradition. Pritz (1983, pp. 137-148) characterized the 1960s as the formation of permanent, independent groups specially devoted to performing Ukrainian dance on stage (as cited in Nahachewsky, 1997, p. 143). The "throw," originally part of a famous Soviet Cossack dance, was adapted into the Ukrainian theatrical dance tradition and then became a Shumka tradition during performances of the *kolomyika*. Vincent mentioned that he did not believe the "Throw" was a Ukrainian tradition, but he said, "If Shumka means Ukrainian, and then it [the throw] becomes Ukrainian." Thomas' theorem comes to mind: "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (Coser, 1977, p. 521). The symbols separating one ethnic group from another are self-imposed and thus can be subjective. Whether or not the "throw" originated from a Ukrainian tradition, it became a symbol that represents Ukrainianness and that is a part of the Ukrainian dance tradition.

One might ask whether these "invented" traditions are genuine "Ukrainian" traditions. The term 'invention of traditions' implies a distinction between 'invented' and 'genuine' traditions. According to Goldstein-Gidoni (1997), "while Hobsbawm's distinction between 'genuine' and 'invented' traditions implies that invented traditions are inherently 'false' (page), Anderson (1991) argued that what distinguishes communities is not their falsity or genuineness, but the style in which they are imagined (p. 6). As Giddens (1994) argued, "all traditions, one could say, are invented traditions" (p. 93). Gidden thought that what gives a tradition its 'genuineness' is not that it may have been established for generations, or that it may accurately encapsulate past events, but that it is the very medium of the "reality" of the past (p. 94; as cited in Goldstein-Gidoni, 1997, p. 6). From this point of view, the new traditions that Ukrainian Shumka Dancers and the Ukrainian Male Chorus developed represent a version of the past and are stylized in form and content. By performing these traditions, members of these two groups create solidarity among themselves. They reinforce the idea that they are "Ukrainians" or "Ukrainian Canadians."

Notes

[1] Matiasz conducted telephone surveys of 100 members from each of St. Josaphat's and St. Basil's parishes as well as fifty members from St. George's parish. Those symbols that people were asked about were the following: the rosary, three-barred cross, statues, the confessional, the flag, choirs, icons, embroidered vestments, liturgy, embellished walls, iconostasis, Taras Shevchenko, the trident, Marian Sodality and Cardinal Slipyj. The use of symbols and cultural markers reinforced the legitimacy of cultural expression in these three churches. The survey results show that support for the use of the liturgy of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Rite was universal. The timing of the celebrations differed according to the Julian or Gregorian calendar. Whether the liturgy was recited, sung by the choir, or sung by the congregation appeared to be immaterial to the respondents. However, the Marian Sodality, the Knight of Columbus, and the rosary did not conform to this traditional perception of religious practice. Symbols chosen because of their perceived relevance (to the researcher) -- the Ukrainian flag, the trident, and the issue of the Patriarchate symbolized in the Ukrainian Cardinal of the time, Cardinal Slipyj -- elicited different responses from parish to parish.

[2] Father Tarasenko did not mention whether he was referring to Ukrainians in the Croatian or the Serbian area. Ukrainian Catholics in Serbian areas kept the old calendar to make themselves look more like the Serbians. Ukrainian Catholics in Croatian areas kept the new calendar, to make themselves look more like the Catholic Croatians. This practice of dividing can also be used as a practice to unite. If Father Tarasenko was referring to Ukrainians in Croatian areas, perhaps those Ukrainians did not perform the tying of hands and the ceremonial walk to unite themselves to Croatian Catholic.

[3] Shumka also presents a "Hutsul axe" posthumously to a man who has died, so that he can have a little bit of Shumka with him.

[4] Ukrainian wedding traditions included the presentation of meaningful presents, but the actual gifts were different.

[5] Avramenko was committed to Ukrainian statehood, and was active in a theatre troupe entertaining the soldiers of the Ukrainian army before coming to North America in 1925 (Nahachewsky, 1997, p. 141). After arriving in North America, he opened up a school for Ukrainian dancing. According to Herman (1961), Avramenko "hammered away at patriotism and the necessity of imparting the Ukrainian dance to the children as a means of getting freedom for Ukrainians" (p. 18).

Chapter 6: Ethnicity

One of the wedding ritual's most important functions is to provide "a vehicle for conveying identity." Displaying themselves through performance, the bride and groom can create and perform in public their own story of identity: whom they have come from, who they are now, and who they wish to be in the future. Leeds-Hurwitz (2002) believed that through the design of particular combinations of cultural identities in a wedding ritual, the new couple not only displays their intentions (the performance aspect) but also makes them true (the constitutive element). She connected this idea to the concept of social construction: "We construct (constitute, or make real) our identities, making them visibly manifest, both for ourselves, and so that we may share them with others" (Leeds-Hurwitz, p. 130). Pearce and Littlejohn (1997) suggested that social constructionism lead us to view human reality as a product of social interaction and further, to look for the ways in which our worlds are built in social life (p. x).

Like Leeds-Hurwitz, Pearce and Littlejohn, Conzen et al. (1992) viewed ethnicity as a process of cultural construction, introducing the concept of "the invention of ethnicity." Conzen and his colleagues attempted not to view ethnicity as primordial, ancient, unchanging, or as inherent in a group's blood, soul, or misty past. Instead, they regarded ethnicity as a cultural construction accomplished over historical time. According to this view, "ethnicity is not a collective fiction, but rather a process of construction or invention that incorporates, adapts, and amplifies preexisting communal solidarities, cultural attributes, and historical memories. That is, it is grounded in real life context and social experience" ("The invention of ethnicity").

These scholars' social or cultural constructionism emphasizes the changeability of ethnicity. Leeds-Hurwitz (2002) remarked that researchers once assumed the existence of definite boundaries between communities and studied each one at a time, so that researchers also originally assumed each person has a single primary identity, granted at birth, and unchanging until death. This outdated theory has now been replaced by a more flexible view of identity: it is not something beyond our control, but something we use and manage, deliberately more often than not. As well, it can change over time, as our allegiances change (p. 130). Conzen et al. (1992) also said that today's ethnic groups are constantly recreating themselves, and that ethnicity is continuously being reinvented to accommodate changing realities both within the group and the host society. An ethnic group's boundaries must be repeatedly renegotiated, while expressive symbols of ethnicity or ethnic traditions must be repeatedly reinterpreted ("The invention of ethnicity"). Thus, ethnicity is no longer seen as an unchangeable cultural feature, but rather as the result of historical constructions and contexts.

Conzen et al. (1992) explained that an ethnic group's renegotiation of its traditions presumes a collective awareness and active decision-making as opposed to the passive individualism of the assimilation model. An ethnic group seeks to determine the terms, modes, and outcomes of its accommodation to "others." Conzen et al. viewed this effort as a process of negotiation not only between the ethnic group and the dominant cultural group, but within communities and among various ethnic groups as well.

In this chapter, I focus on the changeable ethnicity of the Ukrainian ethnic group and the process of negotiation between this group and the dominant ethno-culture, in this case, the Anglo-Canadian culture, and between the Ukrainian group and other ethnic groups. As Conzen et al. explained, these interactions can be competitive, cooperative, or conflictual, and perhaps a combination of all three. They are seen as essential components of the process of ethnic group formation and definition.

Cultural groups themselves are by no means homogeneous; they are divided by varying combinations of ethnic origin, regional origin, dialect, class, politics, religion and other factors. Since this study focuses on the issues of ethnicity reflected in Ukrainian Canadian weddings, I will divide the Ukrainian Canadians into two groups: intra-ethnic couples and inter-ethnic couples, or people of single- and multiple-ethnic-origin. I discuss how these people recreate the groups and how their ethnicities are continuously being reinterpreted or reinvented in response to changing realities within both the group and the mainstream society.

6.1. Ethnic origin and ethnic identification

"Ethnic identity" is not the same as "ethnic origin." In contrast to "ethnic origin," which refers to the ethnic group(s) to which one's ancestors belonged (Kalbach, 1990, p. 20), "ethnic identity" is a less objective, more psychological construct. Some Ukrainian descendants, for example, five generations removed, can be passionate about their heritage and identify themselves as "Ukrainian" or "Ukrainian-Canadian" while others, who are members of only the second generation of a Ukrainian family in Canada, can move out of their ethnic communities and regard themselves as "Canadian," losing most of their connection with this part of their past.

As I explained in Chapter 2, the proportion of people of single- and multiple-ethnic origin in a group reflects the endogamy and exogamy of the previous generation. Kalbach (1991) pointed out that scholars have used the proportions of ethnically endogamous and exogamous marriages as indicators of acculturation and assimilation and have claimed that data on the types of ethnic mixing and differences in the relative sizes of mixed-ancestry populations can be used to assess the relative validity of the various assimilation and cultural-pluralism models for Canada's ethnic/racial populations (p. 29). Here, we can propose the following questions: Do the increasing number of mixed-marriage couples and/or multiple-origin people indicate the integration or assimilation of Ukrainian-origin people into Canadian mainstream culture? Do the statistical data suggest the eventual absorption of the Ukrainian ethnic group into the larger Anglo-Canadian culture? In this study, I do not attempt to disprove the general trend that the Ukrainian community is increasingly integrating with Canadian traditions. However, I try to show the following: (1) Ukrainian single-ethnic origin is not always connected to "the expression of strong ethnic identification." Multiple-ethnic origin is not always connected with weak ethnic identification. In other words, Ukrainian multiple-origin people can be stronger in their expression of ethnic identification than Ukrainian single-origin people. (2) Inter-ethnic couples do not always have a lower ethnic identification in every situation than intra-ethnic couples. The former can express a higher ethnic identification in some circumstances than latter do.

6.1.1. Single origin and low ethnic identification

Among my informants, twenty couples were intra-ethnic couples while twelve couples were inter-ethnic couples. Among the intra-ethnic couples, thirteen couples consisted of single-origin persons while seven couples consisted of single- and multiple-origin persons. Most single-origin couples were quite strong in expressing their ethnicity through their weddings. Except for Allen and Maria (couple 12), who had comparatively less Ukrainian symbols and traits in their wedding, the single-origin couples in this sample expressed strong Ukrainianness, incorporating various ethnic symbols into their weddings. All of them had been members of Ukrainian cultural and church organizations and had had close relationships with Ukrainian Canadian friends or community members before their marriage. It should be noted that this data does not reflect the general tendency of all the Ukrainian single-origin couples in Edmonton because my sample is very limited and my recruitment methods were not random.

Unlike the other Ukrainian single-origin individuals in my study, Allen did not belong to any Ukrainian organization and did not have any network with other Ukrainians except for his family members and church members. As I explained in Chapter 4 (p. 153), Allen's wedding was also quite different from the others' weddings in its pattern and form. The major differences seem to have originated from Allen's religious faith. Allen did not add any ethnic elements into his wedding except for Ukrainian language for the ceremony and Ukrainian food for the supper. Having a bilingual ceremony was particularly important for him because his wife's knowledge of English was not as strong as it became later. Since he had grown up in a Protestant environment, he had not been exposed to Ukrainian religious traditions throughout his life.

Allen identified himself as a "Canadian of Ukrainian heritage." He said, "Some people lean toward their ethnic background first and their country of residence second. For me I would prefer to say Canadian of Ukrainian background." According to his wife, Maria, Allen preferred Ukrainian food, but he was very much "Canadian" in other aspects.

Among the several intra-ethnic marriages of Ukrainian single- and multiple-ethnic persons, one marriage suggested that multiple-origin people can express stronger ethnic identification than single-origin people do. Grant and Karen (couple 14) were a good example of this phenomenon. Karen was from a Ukrainian single-origin family. Even though no exogamous marriages had occurred in her family, Karen's family was not much attached to Ukrainian traditions. Karen recalled that her family had stopped following these traditions after her grandparents had passed away and her family members had moved out of a farm area, scattering into a big city, Edmonton.

Karen's husband, Grant, was half-Scottish and half-Ukrainian. His Scottish origin came from his father, who was born in a Scottish family in Montreal and then moved to Alberta about fifty years ago. Even though Grant was half-Scottish, he was influenced mainly by Ukrainian traditions and elements. His mother was strongly involved in Ukrainian cultural organizations, such as the Mandolin Club, a choir, and a Ukrainian youth group. She passed her passion for Ukrainian culture to her children. Grant had been involved in a Ukrainian dance group and a Ukrainian youth organization since he was six year old. He was currently dancing in a Ukrainian dance group, *Veselka*. However, his Roman Catholic father influenced Grant's religious beliefs. Grant was baptized in a Roman Catholic Church, but even though his family was Roman Catholic, it practiced both English and Ukrainian customs. Grant's family spoke mainly English at home because his father did not understand Ukrainian. However, on Saturdays, Grant went to a Ukrainian school for Grades one-six, and he can speak Ukrainian.

Karen started to regain her interest in Ukrainian traditions after she had met Grant. After they started dating, Karen had to decide whether or not she wanted to join the

Ukrainian cultural organizations that Grant belonged to at that time. Since Grant was involved in so many activities, such as dancing, singing, and teaching Ukrainian dance, Karen had to spend time with him in those groups. Otherwise, she would have seen him only once a week. Karen said that she had made a wise decision to join Grant in his groups' activities because she made very good friends and had fun with the groups' members. Karen had never attended a Ukrainian bilingual school. Her parents could speak Ukrainian, but they did not speak it at home. She started learning Ukrainian after she met Grant and was taking a Ukrainian language course at St. Andrew church. She decided to learn the Ukrainian language because it was a part of her heritage and because she wanted to be able to speak in Ukrainian to Ukrainian people.

As Karen's example suggests, the urbanization of an ethnic population can be a factor that causes the weakening of ethnic identity. Not only Karen's family but also Kara's (couple 15) family had had this experience. Kara explained, "When I was young, my parents never took me to Ukrainian church and I never learned Ukrainian. When my parents were growing up, they moved to the city and they became a part of the city."

To explain why urbanization causes the weakening of ethnicity, Conzen et al. (1992) suggested that an urban area provides ethnic people more chances to be assimilated than isolated rural settings provide:

> To shift the discussion to the spatial dimension, striking differences in the process of ethnicization can be attributed to varying patterns of physical settlement. The proximity or absence of "others" in the immediate environment appears to have had a marked effect upon the process. Immigrants who settled in "empty spaces," isolated rural areas, appear to have had significantly different experiences from

> those who settled in large industrial towns and cities. Studies suggest that they were less subject to assimilative pressures, nativistic prejudice, and conflict with other ethnic groups. ("The Invention of Ethnicity")

However, several examples from my interview materials indicate that rural weddings in the Ukrainian community are not always stronger in the expression of ethnic identification. Jess (couple 10) grew up in Edmonton, but her family was originally from a farm near Edmonton, and she had her wedding in the farm area. Even though her family had lived in a rural setting, neither her family nor the villagers were very familiar with traditional Ukrainian wedding ritual. In contrast, the groom, Bohdan's family moved from farm to city in the same generation as she had. However, his family was more closely tied with traditional Ukrainian wedding rituals. Thus, his family suggested including several traditional elements, such as *vinkopletennia*, making *hil'tse*, and *starosty*, in his wedding ceremonies. Jess reflected that her wedding had been the most traditional recent wedding in her rural area.

As Conzon (1992) mentioned, a rural area may provide less need than an urban area for the negotiation of an ethnic group's boundaries and the reinterpretation of ethnic traditions. In terms of the process of ethnicization, rural areas seems to be less competitive. In contrast, urban areas are places where people with different ethnic backgrounds meet. Thus, cities can be the most competitive places where each ethnic group negotiates invisible ethnic boundaries and creates ethnic symbols to express its ethnic identification. For this reason, the ethnic expression in urban areas can be somewhat more visible and competitive than in rural areas.

In 1991, the independence of Ukraine gave Ukrainian Canadians more opportunities to find their marital partner in their ancestors' homeland than they had previously. Some traveled to Ukraine for their wedding ceremony while others brought their spouse to Canada. As I explained in Chapter 4, when a couple marries in Ukraine or Canada, they usually follow mainly the traditions of the host country, while also incorporating those of the other into their wedding. When a bride and/or groom come from Ukraine, Ukrainian Canadians have their own expectations of what the wedding should be. People usually expect more Ukrainian elements in the wedding. However, in some cases, a person can want to express his or her ethnic identification in a completely different way. Allen's wife, Maria (couple 12) came from Ukraine a few years ago. Maria had always dreamed of coming to Canada. She explained, "It was actually a dream. I was always dreaming of living in Canada and having a husband there." However, she did not want a Ukrainian-style wedding: "When I was living in Ukraine, I had that [Ukrainian] kind of style in all my life, and I was kind of tired of that style. I wanted something new." Even though she identified herself as "Ukrainian," she did not want to express her ethnic identity by choosing traditional Ukrainian symbols or rituals for her wedding. Being away from her own family and community in Ukraine, she did not feel any obligation to perform any Ukrainian rituals to make her dream come true. Maria was very satisfied with her wedding. Compared to a Ukrainian wedding in Ukraine, her wedding was "Canadian," and she did not feel any pressure to include any Ukrainian elements. She felt very relaxed at her wedding, which she enjoyed without feeling any stress.

6.1.2. Inter-ethnic couples' identification with their ethnicity

The main issue discussed in this section is whether or not inter-ethnic marriage causes a decrease in one's level of ethnic identification. Twelve couples among my informants were inter-ethnic couples. Seven of the Ukrainian people in these couples were of Ukrainian single origin while five were of Ukrainian multiple origins. Their spouses' ethnic origins were English (2), French (1), South African (1), English-Dutch (1), Korean (2), Chinese (1), Sri Lankan (1), Belgian (1), and Swedish (2).

In this section, the main focus is paid on the bride's or groom's community activities and network connections. The results of this study do support the general trend that ethnic intermarriage is somewhat related to lower ethnic identification. However, this is certainly not always the case. People in inter-ethnic marriages express high ethnic identification when they are involved in ethnic community activities and when they are involved with same-ethnicity family members and friends. In those situations, these people's level of ethnic identification can be just as high as that of people in intra-ethnic marriages. This study's fieldwork materials suggest three factors in maintaining high ethnic identification: (1) being involved in ethnic community activity, (2) maintaining positive relationships with same-ethnicity family and friends, and (3) having the support of one's different-ethnicity spouse.

Involvement in ethnic organizations

Throughout her life, Lorraine (couple 23) had been a member of Ukrainian church and cultural organizations, such as St. Andrew's Church and Shumka. She had been a Shumka dancer for twelve years. Since Lorraine grew up in a Ukrainian community where many elderly people lived, she had to communicate with people in Ukrainian.

Furthermore, she took Ukrainian classes in high school and could practice the Ukrainian language with her parents, who were both perfectly bilingual. She still spoke in Ukrainian, but her reading ability was not as good as her speaking ability. Lorraine and Wayne identified themselves as "Canadian." Lorraine explained, "I am Canadian. There is no question. I have a very strong ties to my culture, but I am a Canadian." From Wayne's perspective, Lorraine was absolutely Canadian, but she had a very strong Ukrainian heritage: "Lorraine has luxury and privilege in having what I call a fabulous cultural background."

Lorraine could not have even imagined a wedding without the support of the ethnic groups she used to belong to. First, her Shumka dance group organized *divych vechir* and Ukrainian dance performances. Second, the church organization prepared the church service and arranged for a choir to perform it. Third, a Ukrainian band that used to work for Shumka also played an important role in her wedding. Fourth, one of her church members prepared the Ukrainian wedding bread, the *korovai*.

Lorraine did not think that she had lost any of her ethnic identity because she married a non-Ukrainian husband. She believed that she was very much grounded in her ethnic culture and realized that she had to maintain it and pass it down to the next generation: "I feel pretty grounded in who I am personally, culturally and religiously . . . I wasn't threaten by it [inter-ethnic marriage] . . . but I also know that it is . . . if our children are to carry the flag into the next generation, I realize more solidly it is up to me. I am O.K. with that."

Lorraine admitted that she could not include certain Ukrainian elements in her wedding. However, she said, "It was his wedding day too. To monopolize it is unfair.

You have to be sensitive to that when you are making that commitment." She did not think that omitting one or two ethnic elements from a wedding ritual was important. Also, she believed that reviving or sticking to old traditions is not necessary. She thought we have to adapt and stylize traditional elements. Thus, Lorraine thought that her wedding was a "stylized Ukrainian wedding."

Positive relationships with same-ethnicity family and friends

> A different-ethnicity spouse is unable to fully understand feelings and events related to one's ethnicity in the same way that one understands them oneself, and to the extent that one is close to one's spouse, maintaining high ethnic identification can be difficult. One way to maintain a close relationship with one's spouse is to de-emphasize those beliefs that are not shared. Thus, people in inter-ethnic marriages who are committed to their spouses are likely to de-emphasize their ethnic identification if it involves experiences that cannot be shared with their spouses.
>
> However, people's social networks are complex and are often composed of relationships with others of the same and different ethnicities. People in mixed-ethnicity marriages must also attend to their relationships with same-ethnicity others. For example, one's family, who is generally from the same ethnic background, is likely to understand feelings and events related to one's ethnicity in the same way that one understands them. The motivation to maintain a strong, positive relationship with one's family may encourage one to emphasize the common ethnicity they share by expressing high ethnic identification (Cheng, 2002, p. 6)

Richard (couple 25) is a fourth-generation member of a Ukrainian immigrant family. His family history started in Canada one hundred years ago. When Ukrainians first immigrated to Canada, they were not treated well here. For this reason, his family decided to anglicize its last name as "Corry." When Richard was 5 or 6 years old, he attended a Ukrainian bilingual school for a short period of time, three or four months. At that time, he was able to speak Ukrainian, but at the time of the interviews, he had lost this ability. According to Richard, his family used to go to a Ukrainian Orthodox church, but was no longer very involved in Ukrainian church or cultural organizations. However, his family still celebrated Ukrainian Easter, Ukrainian Christmas, and other Ukrainian holidays. Also, the members of his extended family still maintained close relationships each other. Richard and his bride, Sunea, had two very colourful Ukrainian and Korean dance performances at their wedding. As I explained in Chapter 4 (p. 119), the idea to have Ukrainian and Korean dance performances resulted from chance, and a Ukrainian performance at their wedding became possible only because Richard had always been close to his extended family members, who were active in Ukrainian cultural organizations. Because a daughter of Richard's cousin was a dancer in an amateur dance school, they had the contacts to easily arrange for Ukrainian dancers at their wedding.

Richard identified himself as "Canadian" rather than "Ukrainian" or "Ukrainian-Canadian" because he could not speak Ukrainian and did not practice Ukrainian customs in his everyday life. However, he was sure to identify himself as "Ukrainian" when he was asked about his ethnic-origin because the older generations in his family are all Ukrainians.

Ethnic identification is regulated by the need to manage interpersonal relationships. These relationships include those that one chooses (e.g., relationships with friends, romantic partners), as well as the many that one is obligated to maintain (e.g., relationships with parents, bosses, neighbors). Specifically, my interview materials suggest that people assimilate ethnically with those with whom they have positive relationships and that people separate themselves ethnically from those with whom they have negative relationships; whether these alternatives result in increased or decreased ethnic identification depends on the ethnicity of the other person (Cheng, 2002, p. 6).

Having the support of a non-Ukrainian spouse

Without the support of one's partner, a married person cannot maintain his or her ethnic heritage and identification.

Steven (couple 27) was a member of an English-Dutch family. Around six or seven years ago, he met a Ukrainian Canadian friend at work. His friend was a dancer with Dunai, and Steven became involved in his friend's dance group. Then Steven became a friend of the group's members and did voluntary work for it during spring festivals and parties.

Steven had cousins of Ukrainian ethnic origin. When he was young, during the Easter season, his cousins and aunt often came to his house and made Easter eggs and Ukrainian food, such as *pyrohy*. Thus, he was exposed to and was curious about Ukrainian culture during his youth. Then later, through his friendship with his Ukrainian Canadian friend, he became more interested in Ukrainian culture and became involved in Ukrainian cultural organizations such as Dunai. Steven thought his father's side of the family did not follow any traditions, whereas his mother's side followed some Dutch traditions during Advent before Christmas as well as during New Years.

After Steven met his bride, Tetyana, who came from Ukraine, they became involved together in two cultural organizations, SUM (Ukrainian Youth Association) and a Verkhovyna choir. They explained that they were doing much volunteer work for Ukrainian organizations and Ukrainian communities. Fifty percent of Steven's friends and eighty percent of Tetyana's friends were Ukrainian. Tetyana identified herself as "Ukrainian." She thought that Steven had been half-English and half-Dutch, but that after marrying her, he had also become part Ukrainian. Steven identified himself as "Canadian" and liked to refer to himself as "a token Dutchman of the Ukrainian choir."

Even though Steven was not Ukrainian, he knew many Ukrainian traditions and tried to speak the Ukrainian language and participate in Ukrainian cultural activities. On the day after he and Tetyana had decided to date, they went to a Ukrainian bookstore, and Steven purchased a Ukrainian dictionary to learn the Ukrainian language. Tetyana praised his Ukrainian proficiency and his effort to learn the Ukrainian language and culture.

Limitations

If none of these three elements is present in a marriage, a person is not likely to express high ethnic identification. Rob, Angela, and Kim (couple 21, 22, and 29) did not express their own ethnic identifications through their weddings. However, the wedding is not an event only for the bride and groom. Family members or guests can also express their group's ethnicity. A wedding ritual provides a vehicle for the participants, not only the bride and groom, but also the family and guests, to make explicit statements concerning whom they are. Culture, as a social fact, normally remains invisible, but can be put on display when people wish to publicly establish their identity (Leeds-Hurwitz, 131). Rob (couple 21) belongs to the third Ukrainian Canadian generation. He married Angela, who is of Belgian origin. After their wedding day, they had a gift-opening ceremony at the bride's parents' house. Sometime after the lunch, Rob's family made a joke about Ukrainian people and demonstrated how Ukrainian people change a light bulb. Some of Rob's Ukrainian family members gathered under a light bulb and made a human tower to reach the bulb near a high ceiling. Then everyone moved around in the same direction all together to change the light bulb, just as the people in the joke do. Their activity was not traditional, but it did express ethnic identification.

6.2. Social Construction: the process of ethnicization

Some people assume that the mainstream society unilaterally dictates the terms of assimilation and that change is a linear progression from "foreignness" to "Canadianization." However, I envision ethnicization as a dynamic process, driven by multiple relationships, among Ukrainian Canadians as well as between them and other ethnic people or the mainstream society, and resulting in multidirectional change. Everyone involved in this dialectical process is changed. Since such relationships are often competitive and conflictual, contestation is a central feature of ethnicization. In this subchapter, I emphasize the notion that what is distinctively "Ukrainian Canadian" has been itself a product of this synergistic encounter of multiple peoples and cultures.

6.2.1. Interaction within the Ukrainian community

Rituals transform the participants, creating a community out of separate individuals and supplying a single identity for that community (Martin, 1996, p. 12). Rituals also integrate the performers with the audience members and thus have been called "collusive dramas" (Myerhoff, 1992, p. 167). To be successful, rituals generally require both performers and an audience. At a wedding, the bride, groom and their families and friends play out the roles of the wedding characters, conveying meaning to the audience members as well as to themselves. By adding their own special meaning to wedding rituals, people create their own social worlds.

Interaction between the couple and parents

The whole procedure of planning and performing wedding rituals is very complicated and often involves continuous interactions between the couple and their parents to find solutions to satisfy both parties. Before the bride and groom start preparing for their wedding, they usually discuss their vision of it. This vision or initial planning reflects their personalities and identities. In some cases, both their families and their ethnic community welcome the initial plan, but it can also cause conflicts from the beginning of the preparation phase. Since a wedding is an event not only for the bride and groom but also for their families and their communities, each person and group have their own visions, perspectives and expectations.

Michael and Kara (couple 15), who were both Ukrainian descendants but identified themselves as "Canadian," wanted to have a wedding that would not be dictated by tradition or commercialism. They simply wanted a wedding at which they could share their love and celebrate with a small group of close friends and family members. Accordingly, they planned a wedding that would be as simple as possible. For example, they wanted an outdoor wedding ceremony without any Ukrainian cultural and religious elements. They did not even want bridesmaids and groomsmen or a head table at the reception. Michael and Kara were very firm about their decision, so their parents were unable to negotiate with them. They designed their wedding their own way.

Tim and Bailey (couple 19), who are both half-Ukrainian and identify themselves as "Ukrainian" in terms of ethnicity, wanted to have a very traditional Ukrainian wedding for the church service, but not for the reception: "We really wanted our ceremony very traditional. That's the centre of the wedding. For the reception, we chose to do a more modern, less Ukrainian traditional type of reception." They believed that the wedding service was for them while the reception had to be for their guests, who would not all be Ukrainians. Thus, Tim and Bailey tried to include all traditional elements in their wedding service and to have a modernized and stylized reception with "a touch of Ukrainianness." Tim and Bailey were also very firm about their decision, but they had to compromise on several things to satisfy both their families.

My interview materials indicate that certain specific issues tended to cause the conflicts between the couples and their parents: the wedding place, the wedding hall, the food, and the numbers of guests.

For traditional Ukrainian folk weddings, two wedding ceremonies, the *shluib* and *vesillia*, were performed in two different places: the church and the bride's house. According to Borysenko (1988), the *vesillia* was regarded as more important and as the real traditional wedding ceremony. However, today, in Canada, only few remnants of the old rituals of *vesillia* are included in the wedding reception. Today, the marriage ceremony is often regarded as the centre of the Ukrainian wedding, presenting a strong expression of Ukrainianness through colourful symbols and rituals. Tim and Bailey said that their church wedding was the most important thing and that other things were "extra." Thus, their church wedding had to be "Ukrainian Ukrainian," but the reception could have only a "touch of Ukrainian." Because of the Ukrainian Church's important role in giving a wedding not only religious meaning, but also an ethnic identity, members of the older generations often get upset and feel offended and disgraced when the wedding ceremony is not arranged to take place in a Ukrainian church. As I explained in Chapter 4, when Grant's (couple 14) *baba* was told that her grandson would marry in a bar, she was very upset and was very disappointed because she had always wanted him to marry in a Ukrainian church. Concerning the idea of marrying at a Ukrainian church, Grant's wife Karen, said, "For me, to get married in a church was actually a kind of a big issue because I don't go to a church, so I didn't feel like it was right that I get married in a church. So this (wedding) was perfect for me." Grant said, "I went to a Roman Catholic church when I was a kid growing up. I think the whole idea of getting married in a Ukrainian church was strange to me as well. I had a kind of mixed feeling on that." However, in order to compromise with and satisfy Grant's *baba*, Grant and Karen tried to put more Ukrainian elements into their wedding.

Even when the wedding ceremony has been arranged to take place in a Ukrainian church, conflicts can still occur when both families belong to different religious denominations. Tim and Bailey (couple 19) are Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox, respectively, and they thought that they should acknowledge both their churches. Thus, they decided to hold their wedding in Bailey's church and later to baptize their children in Tim's church. They also wanted to have a "concelebrated wedding," in which priests from both churches performed the ceremonies. Tim and Bailey thought that their plan would work out. However, they faced two unexpected problems. Firstly, the idea of having the wedding ceremony in a Ukrainian Orthodox church did not please Tim's family. Since Tim's great-grandfather and other family members had been Catholic priest in Ukraine, and the rites of passage for all Tim's family members had been performed in their Ukrainian Catholic church in Edmonton, Tim's family did not welcome his decision. Secondly, Bailey's priest would not allow them to have a concelebrated wedding in his Ukrainian Orthodox church. Concelebrated weddings are popular in Eastern Canada, but Tim and Bailey could not find a way to have one. They had to find another solution and ended up deciding to have the wedding at Tim's church because his priest was open to the idea of "the concelebrated wedding." Bailey knew a Ukrainian Orthodox priest in Montreal, who was her family's old friend, and asked him to join Tim's priest at the wedding. Even though Tim and Bailey initially faced some conflicts, their wedding turned out wonderfully and made everyone very happy.

Decisions about the number of guests to invite and the size of the wedding hall can also be problematic. One well-known characteristic of Ukrainian weddings is the large number of wedding guests. Parents and grandparents like to invite all their relatives and friends to their children's weddings. Doing so honours the relatives and friends and also the Ukrainian culture. The number of guests usually determines the choice of the wedding reception hall. In order to accommodate three or four hundred people, Ukrainian community and church halls have been used for years. Not only because of their size, but also because of the meaning that a community or church hall conveys, many Ukrainian Canadians prefer to have their weddings in these places.

However, the younger generations have recently tended to want to have smaller weddings in different places like hotels. These people may respect their heritage and want to express their ethnic identification, but they also want something unique and different from the typical Ukrainian Canadian wedding. The younger and older generations seem to have different value systems. Individualism and personal creativity have become emphasized more than collectivism or group traditions. For example, Tim and Bailey (couple 19) wanted to have a small wedding with around one hundred guests. This couple did not believe they had to invite the community members they did not know. As well, Tim and Bailey wanted a unique and more elegant place than a hall for their wedding. Thus, they decided to have their reception in a hotel that was close to the church where their wedding would take place. However, their families, particularly Tim's, did not welcome this decision. Tim's family wanted to invite several hundred guests, including Ukrainian and Portuguese relatives. Tim's father believed that limiting the number of guests at the wedding reception was an "insult." Thus, the couple had to negotiate with their parents and decided to have one hundred and seventy guests.

Agreeing on a place for the reception was one issue, but the food for the reception became another source of conflict, especially with Tim's mother. Tim and Bailey decided to have a sort of cocktail party instead of a sit-down-dinner because they wanted a unique style of party and also because the wedding reception would start after supper. They did not include Ukrainian food in their plans because they perceived it as everyday food: "We didn't want to have *pyrohy* and potato. . . . People that have those kinds of wedding, it's a novelty for them to have that kind of food. Even though they are Ukrainian, it doesn't mean that they eat Ukrainian food all the time. For us, we do that all the time. It's not a novelty. It's food like peanut butter and jelly sandwich. We wanted something completely different." However, Tim's mother thought Ukrainian food had to be included on the menu. Tim assumed that his mother really wanted to have Ukrainian food because of her nostalgic mood at that time: "My mother, as you know, both parents passed away one after the other. I think she had sort of a nostalgic period she went through. It was important to her. She told me she wanted to have Ukrainian food at the wedding."

However, Tim thought his mother's decision was ironic because he remembered his grandmother coming home from a wedding and saying, "I can't believe those people serve *pyrohy* at the wedding all the time." Tim said that his grandmother did not like to have *pyrohy* or *holubtsi* at a wedding reception because they are ordinary foods that everyone eats on a regular basis: "She thought it should be something different and a little bit fancier. . . she had been comfortable with a sort of like a French cuisine being served."

This example indicates that ethnic symbols, such as *pyrohy* and *holubtsi*, can be interpreted differently. While Tim and his grandmother thought that *pyrohy* and *holubsi* were inappropriate symbols to incorporate into the wedding, Tim's mother believed that they were essential. Tim and his grandmother wanted food that would be more "exotic" than what they ate every day, whereas Tim's mother wanted Ukrainian food for nostalgic reasons.

Interaction between individuals and ethnic groups

Weddings require their participants to play particular social roles and are sufficiently common that most of us have been involved in the organization of at least one, either peripherally or as major participants. We act by turns either as interpreters of the discourse of others in society or as producers of discourse for others (Greimas, 1987).

If the bride and/or groom is active in ethnic cultural or religious groups, interaction between the couple and their groups is necessary. Sometimes group members voluntarily organize public or private events for the couple as a surprise present. These events often reflect the group members' ethnic identity. As well, the group members often express certain expectations, putting peer pressure on the bride and groom.

In an earlier research project, from 1991, peer pressure was clearly described as playing a role in the inclusion of Ukrainian traditions in some Ukrainian Canadian weddings: “I can recall hearing people saying things like, to others, not necessarily to [me and my wife], but to others, saying like “You mean you’re not going to have this? And then mention some traditional element.” He also felt that there was “a real pervasive kind of expectation from the Ukrainian community for people who are actively involved in the Ukrainian community” (as cited in Cherwick, 1991, p. 15).

My interview materials do not include any examples of couples who described peer pressure. I assume that some peer pressure must have been experienced, but the participants did not want to present it as such during the interview session. However, I found an example showing how group pressure can influence a couple’s wedding plan. Victor and Olha (Pseudonyms), who were from Ukraine and, at the time of my interviews, were graduate students at one of Canadian universities, married in Edmonton. Since they were away from their own families and community, they could not plan a traditional Ukrainian wedding. They originally wanted to have a church wedding ceremony with the presence of a very few close friends. They did not have any specific plan for a wedding celebration because of their temporary status in Canada as well as their economic situation. However, those who had known the couple since they had come to Canada had certain expectations for their wedding. Their acquaintances, most of whom were involved in Ukrainian community activity, thought that the couple’s wedding should include Ukrainian elements such as a church service, a *korovai*, a reception, and a photographer. Because of these expectations, Victor and Olha decided to send out invitation cards as well as to have a reception ceremony at a church hall. As well, people from the

Ukrainian-Canadian community voluntarily participated in the couple's wedding. The priest and church choir prepared the church service. A Ukrainian Canadian photographer voluntarily took their wedding photograph, and a community member baked a *korovai* as a present for them. One the one hand, we can assume that the community wanted to help two students from Ukraine to have a memorable wedding ceremony in Canada. However, on the other hand, we can also interpret this information to suggest that the Ukrainian Canadian community wanted to have its expectations satisfied. In any case, Victor and Olha's wedding was not only their own production, but also that of the community.

Interaction between immigrants from Ukraine and local Ukrainian Canadians

Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, many new Ukrainian immigrants have come to Canada, where their relatives were already living. Newcomers from Ukraine are often challenged by the Ukrainian Canadians' different ways of ethnic expression. For example, Shostak (2004) explained, "In 2000, I counted ten persons (families and women married to local farmers) who had immigrated from Ukraine and who were living in the area [Mundare]. Recent immigrants from Ukraine find their own version of Ukrainianness notably contrasting local Ukrainianness. Mundare Ukrainianness is different than anything they experienced in their homeland" (p. 82). The interaction between the two kinds of Ukrainianness is expressed through symbolic language, metaphors, and visual representations. More simply, Ukrainian immigrants and Ukrainian Canadians can use different ethnic symbols. Both new immigrants and local Ukrainian Canadians can use the same ethnic symbols, but their purpose and meaning can differ (Shostak, 2003, p. 102).

Chapter 4 of this thesis included an example of how the Ukrainian colour theme was differently interpreted and applied in two weddings. Grant (couple 14), who is a local Ukrainian Canadian, defined "Ukrainian" colours differently than Tetyana (couple 27), a newcomer from Ukraine, did. Grant, who used to be an active member of a Ukrainian dance group, decided to incorporate the Hutsul colour theme into his wedding because he had admired this regional tradition during his dance experiences. Thus, he chose orange and yellow from his Hutsul dance costume and then used these colours in the bridal bouquets as well as for decorations at his reception. However, Tetyana, who came from the Transcarpathia area, interpreted these colours totally differently. She believed that orange and yellow mean bad luck or separation in married life. Thus, she tried not to include these two colours in her wedding decorations. For Grant, orange and yellow had an ethnic meaning, representing Ukrainian culture. On the contrary, Tetyana associated these colours with a local superstition.

From the perspective of new immigrants from Ukraine, the Ukrainian traditions that Ukrainian Canadians preserve in Canada are not very "Ukrainian" or "traditional" because they are performed in a different way. In this case, tension can occur with the local Ukrainian Canadians. The newcomers might believe that the local Ukrainian Canadians are performing a particular traditional activity incorrectly and then attempt to change it to how it is done in Ukraine. Tetyana pointed out one difference between Ukrainian and Canadian wedding customs. In Ukraine, each bridesmaid sits along with each groomsman, whereas in Canada, the bridal party sits separately from the groom's party. In Canada, typically all the bridesmaids sit on the right side of the head table and all the groomsmen on the left, next to the groom. At her wedding, she had three separate head tables. At the centre table, the bride and groom sat together with the maid of honor and the best man. At the right and left tables, each pair of bridesmaids and groomsmen sat side by side. This arrangement is understood as a form of matchmaking for single people. Tetyana thought that this explains why, in Ukraine, each bridesmaid and groomsman are chosen from among unmarried people and sit as a couple side by side at the reception.

New immigrants also can express their ethnicity and tradition by adapting local Ukrainian customs. In order to choose her bridal party, Tetyana followed the Canadian custom. In Ukraine, the bridal party should be chosen from unmarried close friends or cousins. However, since Tetyana did not have many relatives and friends around her in Canada, she decided to have unmarried and married friends as her bridesmaids and chose her married sister as the maiden of honor. The groom's best man was one of his friends while his groomsmen included his brother, a friend from college, and a friend from the groom's Ukrainian dance group.

Local Ukrainian Canadians might perceive some of the new Ukrainian immigrants' traditions as "authentic" or "interesting" and then decide to adopt them. One of these examples is the use of Ukrainian word "*hirko*" [bitter] at the reception. At the beginning of Yuriy and Markiana's (couple 17) wedding reception, the master of ceremonies, who was from Ukraine, suggested that the guests say "*hirko*" if they wanted the married couple to kiss. The purpose of this ritual is to encourage the bride and grooms to use love and kisses to solve any problems they might be having in their marriage. This ritual is popular in Ukraine and has been adopted in Canada at some weddings. This example suggests that the imported Ukrainian traditions can influence the expression of ethnic identity through wedding rituals in Canada.

Before the tradition of "hirko" was introduced into Ukrainian Canadian weddings, the tradition of clinking of dishware was popular in earlier Ukrainian Canadian weddings. Many people perceive this to be a Ukrainian tradition. However, for some reasons, this perception changes. Often caterers discourage the tradition for fear that dishware will be broken. Some people think this tradition is not appropriate or graceful in a wedding reception. There has been also a bit of a campaign against clinking, claiming that it is not a Ukrainian tradition. This example shows that rituals or symbols can be reinterpreted through popular usage. Sometimes new symbols of group identity are created, while in other cases, existing symbols are actively eliminated.

6.2.2. Interactions with non-Ukrainians

Interaction between the Ukrainian group and the "mainstream"

Canada has numerous ethnic groups that do many things differently. However, Canadians use two official languages in many situations, and share a common body of media products: books, magazines, newspapers, television shows, films, and the Internet. As a result, Canadians share many assumptions and expectations. In particular, Canada has strong tradition of what may be termed the "dominant mainstream Canadian culture." According to Crane (1992), "the dominant culture is always presented as the culture, the reference point for the society as a whole" (p. 87). This section discusses several elements (white Anglo-Saxon culture, popular culture, mass media, and the wedding industry) that play important roles in creating the dominant mainstream Canadian wedding culture and also examines how Ukrainian Canadians respond to those elements in planning their weddings.

Anglo-Saxon culture

Leeds-Hurwitz (2002) used the concept of "White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant culture" to explain the dominant mainstream American culture. Some Canadians think that white [Anglo-Saxon] culture also plays an influential role in creating the mainstream Canadian culture. A collective of Asian artists, workers and cultural activists, who run the Montreal Asian Heritage Festival, expressed their perceptions of the barriers that Canadian mainstream culture creates for ethnic minorities: "Even though Canada has officially adopted an ideal of multiculturalism, long-held prejudices about what constitutes Canadian identity remain institutionalized. The images of Canadian culture and identity propagated by the media remain predominantly "white."[1]

Over the centuries, Canada has absorbed immigrants from various parts of Europe. Not only English and French, but also Italian, Polish, German, Scandinavian, Ukrainian and other immigrant groups have become accepted into the wider society. However, a degree of prejudice has been directed at those who are not Anglo-Saxon. Nevertheless, the straight-line assimilation model predicts that non-Anglo-Saxon immigrant groups will be able to assimilate into the mainstream fabric of Canada after they have learned the English language and adopted Canadian ways of living and behaving.

However, many studies have made it clear that the straight-line theory of assimilation does not necessarily apply to non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants in Canada. As Song (2003) mentioned in *Choosing Ethnic Identity*, "theories of assimilation were . . . criticized for treating immigrant individuals as the passive objects of the host environment, rather than as active agents who can creatively adapt and negotiate their ethnic identities" (p. 8). Song emphasized the increasing evidence that no uniform linear process exists by which successive generations of immigrant groups are integrated into the wider society. Greenhill (1994) explained that non-English ethnic groups, for example, Ukrainians, use "carnival" ethnicity as a discourse to manipulate power in the general absence of access to its more privileged form. Ukrainians can identify such things as *pysanky* (decorated Easter eggs) and certain kinds of embroidered dance costumes as distinctly Ukrainian, having frequently recognized and asserted a sense of their individuality (pp. 158-159).

Moreover, Bakalin (1993) found that even though most third- and fourth-generation descendants of Armenian immigrants in the USA were not regularly engaging in culturally distinctive "Armenian" practices, they tended to uphold a strong sense of their Armenian heritage. Similarly, although Canadian-born Ukrainians do not use the Ukrainian language in their everyday interactions, or regularly eat Ukrainian food, or necessarily associate with Ukrainian people, Canadian-born Ukrainians can still say that they are "Ukrainian." This example reveals that what is "Ukrainian" is subject to change and is recreated and reinvented over time. According to Waters (1990), the ability of many Americans of European heritage to assimilate has meant that many of them wish to claim a European ethnic ancestry, such as Norwegian or Italian, to make themselves feel distinctive and special (p. 30). It can be said that Ukrainians in Canada may feel the same way: they do not want to be just "ordinary" Canadians, but distinctive Ukrainian-Canadians.

Anglo Saxon culture has numerous influences on the Canadian wedding culture. Leeds-Hurwitz (2002) commented that "because not all elements of even the central wedding ceremony can be attended to equally, some gain more attention; these become key symbols (p. 105)." According to Ortner (1993), "key symbols" are those granted greater significance than other symbols, those more frequently present, more obviously visible, most often found in a typical form (as cited in Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002, p. 105). Leeds-Hurwitz listed four key symbols in wedding rituals:

1. For the social code of language, the key symbol is the set of vows exchanged by bride and groom.
2. For the social code of clothing, the key symbol is the bridal gown.
3. For the social code of objects, it is the wedding rings.
4. For the social code of food, it is the wedding cake, present not at the formal wedding ceremony but at the reception that generally follows.

Among these four key symbols at wedding rituals, the bridal gown and wedding cake reflect the Anglo-Saxon influences to some degree. According to Ingraham (1999), the white wedding gown originated from Queen Victoria:

> Prior to Queen Victoria (1819-1901), white wedding gowns were not the norm. Brides wore brocades of golds and silvers, yellows and blues. Puritan women wore gray. But Victoria's wedding in February 1840 captured the imaginations of many when this powerful presider over the British empire, who many thought of as "plain," married a handsome man. She did so in an opulent ceremony where she wore a luxurious and beautiful (by nineteenth-century standards) white wedding gown. Following this grand event, many white Western middle-class

> brides imitated Victoria and adopted the white wedding gown. By the turn of the century, white had not only become the standard but had also become laden with symbols. Queen Elizabeth II's wedding to Prince Philip in 1947 once again seized the attention of people around the world. . . . Continuing this powerful tradition in recent years were the weddings of two preeminent princess brides: Princess Grace and Princess Diana. These blond-haired, blue-eyed, real-life princess Barbies married during the mass media era . . . ." (35-36)

Princess Diana's wedding and gown have had a particularly profound influence on the wedding industry as well as on people's perceptions of their own weddings. Nearly every aspect of her wedding has been detailed time and again on television and in bridal and news magazines. The wedding of Diana and Charles became the exemplar of the ultimate fantasy of what a wedding should be:

> Lady Diana Spencer, in the most romantic storybook tradition, wore a sequin-and-pearl-incrusted dress with a 25-foot train. Made of ivory silk taffeta produced by Britain's only silk farm, the dress was hand-embroidered with old lace panels on the front and back of the tightly fitting boned bodice. A wide frill edged the scooped neckline, and the loose, full sleeves were caught at the elbow with taffeta bows. A multi-layered tulle crinoline propped up the diaphanous skirt . . . [and] for the final tradition-bound item – something blue – a blue bow was sewn into the waistband of the dress. (Anderson, 1981, p. 1)

One of my informants, Diana (couple 6), who has the same first name as Princess Diana, explained that she wanted to have a wedding dress like Princess Diana's. Not only Diana, but also some of my other informants, commented that Princess Diana's image had influenced their choice of their own wedding dress. Today, the white wedding dress seems to be the main choice among Ukrainian-Canadian brides. None of my informants wore a Ukrainian folk costume for their wedding ceremony. The white wedding dress has replaced the traditional costume, becoming a key symbol at Ukrainian Canadian weddings. However, the new tradition of wearing a white wedding dress did not replace all Ukrainian elements. Some brides tried to incorporate Ukrainian designs into their wedding gowns or follow traditional rituals while dressing the bride. Others wear a veil, which looks like the Ukrainian *vinok*. Also, some brides wear a Ukrainian folk costume at the rehearsal or at the wedding reception, instead of at wedding ceremony.

Tetyana (couple 27), who wanted to have a white wedding dress, but in a Ukrainian style, designed her wedding dress by herself and sent it to a dress-maker in Ukraine. She looked through a Ukrainian catalog and decided to have a double dress with a detachable top. Her dress had many small cuttings on its surface and also many chamomile designs all over it. Tetyana wanted a chamomile flower design, which is very popular in her region of Ukraine, in order to incorporate Ukrainianness into her wedding dress. On the morning of Tetyana's wedding, one of her friends, who was a hairdresser, came to Tetyana's house to do her hair. Then she put on her wedding dress with the help of her mother, who used a white napkin whenever she touched the dress because of the belief that the bride should be the first person to touch it. After Tetyana had put on her dress, her father put a crown on her veil. In her region of Ukraine, a little boy usually performs this ritual, but in her case, her father did so for her. The Ukrainian folk costume is not popular among Ukrainian Canadians, but they still can incorporate Ukrainian elements into the wedding dress and perform rituals while dressing the bride in various ways.

The wedding cake is another non-Ukrainian symbol that most Ukrainian Canadians have in their weddings today. Concerning the origin of the wedding cake tradition, Charsley (1992) explained,

> Viewed from the European mainland [the] wedding cake has always seemed a peculiarly English development. . . . He [Montagne] identifies it as based on the distinctively English plum cake, by then marginally incorporated into the French and Belgian confectionery range. The wedding cake itself is 'a monumental cake', 'a symbol rather than a delicacy, a tradition handed down from one country to the next, whose origin are lost in the mists of antiquity.' (p. 20)

Charsley (1992) also mentioned that the tradition of the wedding cake has been maintained and developed in America: "Across the Atlantic, contrary traditions from other parts of the European continent were in places assiduously maintained but it was development from the British roots which was, in this as in so many other spheres, most conspicuous" (p. 22). The contemporary Canadian wedding cake also seems to be a successor of the Victorian cake that began to appear during the rule of Queen Victoria in England. According to Charsley, when Queen Victoria married Prince Albert in 1840, she had a great, round and single-tier plum cake. However, eighteen years later, the young Royal Princess had a different type of a new wedding cake that became "a model to be followed, and intensively publicized, in the official cakes for each of her younger siblings in turn" (p. 84). In the *Chester Chronicle*, the Royal wedding cake was described as follows:

> The Royal wedding-cake was between six and seven feet high and was divided from the base to the top into three compartments, all in white. The upper part was formed of a dome of open work, on which rested a crown. Eight columns on a circular plinth supported the dome and enclosed an altar. . . . The side of the cake itself displayed the arms of Great Britain and Prussia, placed alternately on panels of white satin. . . . The cake was divided into a certain number of portions or slices, and each portion was decorated with a medallion of the royal bride and bridegroom. ("The Royal Wedding Cake," 1858, p. 3; as cited in Charsley, 1992, pp. 84-85)

Charsley (1992) explained that after the Royal Princess' wedding, expectations about wedding cakes gradually changed. People initially wanted a large single cake, then a large cake which might have more than one tier, and then a cake with three tiers. At the same time, the term 'bride cake' was largely replaced by 'wedding cake' (p. 82).

The wedding cake tradition has also been adapted for Ukrainian Canadian weddings. In some cases, the wedding cake replaces the old Ukrainian symbol, *korovai*. However, in most cases, the wedding cake appears with the Ukrainian *korovai* and takes over one of its previous major functions: its use in the bread-cutting-and-sharing ceremony. For some Ukrainian Canadians, the wedding cake has a relatively functional meaning while the *korovai* an artistic and traditional meaning. Moreover, Ukrainian Canadians have also made the traditional wedding cakes more "Ukrainian" by incorporating Ukrainian elements into them. As I described in Chapter 3 (see Photos 43, 44, and 45), the wedding cake can be decorated with Ukrainian objects, such as Ukrainian embroidery designs, wreath-made-artifacts (swans and bells), periwinkles, a crystallized Ukrainian church, and other Ukrainian designs. Ukrainian Canadians have created a new style of wedding cake that reflects Ukrainian ethnicity.

Popular culture, mass media, and the wedding industry

Popular culture and mass media are two major in influences on contemporary culture and society. Among the many analyses of popular culture and mass media, one type focuses on their homogenizing pressures on our fast-moving urban society. Some people have expressed concern about media ownership, stressing that more and more American mass media are owned by fewer and fewer, very large corporations. These people argue that "media monopoly" homogenizes content and limits coverage of controversial views. Some analysts claim that the commercial or commodity forms that surround popular culture, and the marketing of culture as a commodity, overwhelm content. According to Reed (2002), "the assertion is that popular culture as commercial culture constantly serves to reinforce high consumption and other corporate values as the ultimate social values regardless of whatever values may be promulgated in the cultural texts themselves" ("Popular culture").

Other scholars challenge the negative analyses of popular culture and emphasize its positive role in providing options and variety to people so that they can try different forms. Klymasz (1972) argued that Ukrainian folk culture in Canada was responding dynamically to Canadian popular culture: "Ethnic Pop exploits non-traditional materials such as plastics; it uses novel techniques of application (for example, decalomania), the de-personalized methods of mass production, and the sales opportunities of the commercial marketplace. It even develops entirely new products that are designated as being somehow Ukrainian – car-top decorations for weddings, seat covers, rugs, whirligigs, placemats, ceramic casseroles, and many other accessories of modern life" (p. 10).

The dominance of popular culture has not always resulted in the homogenizing of ethnic cultures in Canada. Instead, Canadian popular culture has often increased Ukrainian Canadians' devotion to the non-verbal, sensory appeal of the Ukrainian folk heritage and helped them discover their ethnicity as the new and dynamic raison d'être that permeates the Ukrainian folk legacy in Canada today. Klymasz also argued that the sound of Ukrainian folk music, the taste of traditional food, and the visual attraction of folk arts and crafts were the Ukrainian elements most often exaggerated and transformed into the dominant elements of Ethnic Pop. For example, as he mentioned, cross-stitch motifs, which have become the single most pervasive symbol of Ukrainian Canadian ethnicity, now appear in printed form on fabrics and are also used for cake decorations (see photo 44).

A gift from the bride and groom is a symbolic memento given to friends and relatives at the reception in appreciation of their help and support during the wedding. Some traditional Canadian gifts are chocolates, wrapped mints, or almonds, but they can be as elaborate as crystal or ceramic works. The Ukrainianization of wedding gifts has taken the form of refrigerator magnets in the shape of *vinoks*; various designs of wheat weaving; small dough doves like those on the *korovai*, and mini *korovai*. These wedding gifts often incorporate the wedding theme colours and may include a thank-you note. These gifts also provide a clear example of the mixing of ethnic and popular culture. This ethnic pop phenomenon plays a role as an effective antidote to the homogenizing pressures of our culture and also provides a rich source of entertainment, instruction, wonder and pride (Klymasz, 1972, p. 13).

The mass media are the whole body of media reaching large numbers of the public via radio, television, movies, magazines, newspapers and the World Wide Web. Ingraham (1999) wrote that the mass media provide us with information and materials that help shape how we view the world, ourselves, and our values. The media also provide the symbols, myths, images, and ideas by which we constitute our dominant culture (pp. 72-73) and subcultures. Using the example of the Disney Corporation, which controls its own multimedia, home video, book publishing, motion pictures, magazines, TV and cable, retail, sports teams, newspapers, music and theme parks, Ingraham explains that the privileged classes use mass media to define or legitimize entitlements by producing and promoting belief systems based largely on myths and stereotypes. To support his argument, Ingraham used the media's representation of weddings:

> The staging of weddings in television shows, weekly reporting on weddings in the press, magazine reports on celebrity weddings, advertising, and popular adult and children's movies with wedding themes or weddings inserted all work together to teach us how to think about weddings, marriage, heterosexuality, race, gender, and labor. . . . Many newlyweds today experience their weddings as stars of a fairy-tale movie in which they are scripted, videotaped, and photographed by paparazzi wedding-goers. Even Kodak and Fuji offer disposable "wedding" cameras for placement on reception tables, ensuring that no moment in this spectacle will be overlooked. (p. 73)

The media provide very few Ukrainian symbols by which Ukrainians can constitute their ethnic culture. In TV, newspapers, magazines, and other media, a few symbols, such as *perogies* and *holubtsi*, may be understood as "Ukrainian." However, in general, the mass media has very little Ukrainian content.

During the last decade of the 20th century, the advent of the World Wide Web marked the first era in which any individual could express himself or herself through the mass media. On the one hand, the World Wide Web plays a role in the reproducing of stereotypical belief systems. However, on the other hand, the Web also provides ethnic groups with the opportunity to cultivate an online community and promote their ethnic identity.

Nincic, Weiss and Nolan (2003) explained that since large movements of different ethnic groups around the world have become common, these groups are often faced with the tension created by their desire to assimilate into new regions and to also maintain a sense of ethnic identity. Many groups develop and participate in on-line communities to ensure that they will not lose their ethnic identity ("The Net, Ethnicity and Difference").

According to Nincic, Weiss, and Nolan (2003), online ethnic communities have become very important sites for the exploration of how ethnic affiliations are taken up and used as a basis for the creation of online communities. Internet technologies have become increasingly embedded in everyday life (Agre, 1999; Baym, 1998; Bell, 2001; Wellman, 1999), prompting careful inquiry into the cultural and social implications of online interactions.

Nincic, Weiss and Nolan (2003) argued that an ethnic virtual group actively uses the Internet to meet a variety of cultural needs in fostering and maintaining a sense of difference in terms of representation, language and collective identity. The members' emotional investment in their community and the amount of time they spend communicating, offering each other comfort, sharing information, and organizing meetings offline—all these practices suggest what we can think of as an active attempt to create a relatively homogeneous community ("The Net, Ethnicity and Difference").

Many informants in my study said that they belonged not only to real Ukrainian cultural groups but also to virtual Ukrainian groups on the Internet. For the preparation of their weddings, many Ukrainian Canadians search web sites to learn Ukrainian wedding traditions. One popular web site that many Ukrainian Canadians use is www.brama.com. This web site provides useful information in various fields, from current Ukrainian political issues to Ukrainian folk traditions, such as wedding customs. This web site's wedding-custom section provides descriptions and photos of actual wedding rituals not only in Ukraine, but also in North America. This site also provides a place for discussion about Ukrainian wedding traditions between a prominent North American folklorist, N. Kononenko, and anyone who is interested in Ukrainian wedding customs. Some of my informants obtained information from this web site for their wedding pamphlets, which introduce Ukrainian wedding rituals. Given the range of options that an ethnic group can possibly have, active participation in an online community by using the mother tongue in online communication may be a group's most proactive choice (Nincic, Weiss & Nolan, 2003, "The Net, Ethnicity and Difference").

Nincic, Weiss and Nolan (2003) concluded that "virtual" sites can be seen as created social contexts in which the participants, drawing from different offline and online resources (experience, cultural patterns, language, computer/Internet knowledge) explore and negotiate cultural meaning. A virtual ethnic community is thus perceived as a pedagogical location that "teaches" online participants by its social organization, its rules of online behavior, and its modes of access ("The Net, Ethnicity and Difference"). For Ukrainian Canadians, especially those who do not belong to any actual ethnic organization, a virtual web site can be an important mediator to connect ethnic people to each other and to provide them with a source of information about their ethnic community.

As mentioned earlier, because of the lack of Ukrainian symbols in the traditional media available in Edmonton, almost the only media source of Ukrainian content media seems to be the Internet.[2]

As a part of popular culture, the wedding industry has become an important factor influencing ethnic weddings. Robey (1990) described marriage as not only a personal milestone, but also as a consumer turning point. He wrote, "By age 35, the vast majority of Americans have been married at least once. Beyond the boost to industries related to the ceremony and honeymoon, marriage has a significant effect on the housing market, durable goods and financial services, to name a few" (p. 10). The wedding industry can provide the bride and groom with a guideline for how to prepare their wedding. In many cases, people often feel pressured to have the kind of wedding that the industry wants them to have, and not the one that they envisioned. One groom says, in *Bridal Gown Guide* (1998), "That giant sucking sound you hear is the money extracted from engaged couples who walk down the aisle" (p. 29; as cited in Ingraham, 1999, p. 29).

According to Leeds-Hurwitz (2002), the bride and groom are not expected to know how to design an appropriate ceremony by themselves, without guidance, and the wedding industry has developed its own secular specialists to serve as expert advice givers. The fact that these experts primarily encourage the couple to follow mainstream norms rather than to display their own unique cultural identities says something about the strength of the normalization (melting pot) process within culture (p. 112). Leeds-Hurwitz's discussion includes the following passage:

> Caterer Abigail Kirsch tells couples: "Stay away from highly seasoned, unrecognizable ethnic foods. . . . It's best not to offend anyone" (quoted in Pollan & Levine,1989, p.42). Typical of advice from wedding specialists, the central argument here suggests: Do not try to combine different traditions, in fact, steer clear of them entirely so as not to upset anyone. Wedding consultant Marcy Blum put it bluntly: "Not too many years ago, the concept of what was elegant meant completely sanitized of your ethnic background" (Mayer, 1992a, p.15). . . . Rather than change its guidelines for each wedding depending on the unique characteristics of the bride and groom, Cartier promulgates mainstream wedding traditions to the exclusion of all others. Clealy it is to their advantage to do so; the only surprise is that so many people follow their rules (pp. 62-63)

These examples indicate that the wedding industry tends to make the contemporary wedding a mass-marketed, homogeneous, assembly-line production. This phenomenon is very strong and also influences the weddings of Ukrainian Canadians in Edmonton.

However, my interview materials indicate that some Ukrainian Canadians attempt to plan their weddings away from the influence of commercialism to make them be different from the homogeneous, typical weddings. The best example of this attempt is

Grant and Karen's (couple 14) wedding. Three years after Grant and Karen started dating, they experienced a surprising event. A few months before Valentine's Day in 2001, a country music radio station in Edmonton advertised a contest which would provide an all- free wedding, including a wedding dress, tuxedo, limo, invitation cards, wedding hall, justice of the peace, food, cake, photos, videos, and a hotel room, to the person wrote the best story about "Why you think your boyfriend should marry you." Just for fun, Karen wrote a poem about how she had met Grant and how everything had worked out between them, and submitted it to the radio station. Surprisingly, she won the contest. The radio station informed her of her prize on February 7th. Her wedding day was set on February 14th on Valentine's Day by the conditions of the prize. Karen and Grant had only a week to prepare their wedding. At that time, they were not engaged yet; thus, Grant proposed to Karen on one of the station's programs just four days before their wedding. Grant commented, "We probably had the shortest engagement in history." In fact, however, traditional Ukrainian village weddings very often followed a brief engagement period.

Karen and Grant's wedding was supported by various wedding companies. However, to ensure that the wedding industry would not dominate their wedding, Grant and Karen incorporated ethnic elements into it:

> "I think we just wanted something Ukrainianized because of the setting that we were in. We didn't want to feel like it was a big circus event. We brought in some elements of Ukrainian things into our wedding just because my family was going to be there, her family was going to be there, and we had always kind of Ukrainian flavor to things since I have been involved in Ukrainian dance … so we tried to incorporate as much of Ukrainian elements in our wedding. It just made

> us feel like it wasn't a big show or a big whatever they wanted to promote in radio station. We thought they might promote us as a big circus event. And we didn't want that, we didn't want that big circus . . . ." (Grant)

In the year when Grant and Karen married, the movie *The Wedding Planner* was released. Apparently influenced by this film, the radio station obtained many sponsors to provide free wedding products and promotions. Grant and Karen were the contest's first winners and established the pattern for the following contests each year. Grant and Karen's efforts to incorporate Ukrainian ethnic elements into their wedding received positive responses from the people at the wedding. For example, the owner of the bar, who provided Karen and Grant with a free wedding place for their wedding, said to Karen, "We have never seen anything like this before in this bar and we will never see this again." Grant and Karen believed they had surprised people by including Ukrainian elements in their wedding. The radio station was very supportive of what they were doing because from its perspective, Ukrainian bread, decorations, dances and a choir were good tools for promoting and advertising the event and the wedding industry. Grant and Karen's wedding was the product of the wedding industry. However, the Ukrainian ethnic elements that Grant and Karen incorporated into their wedding made it different from and more meaningful than other typical, mass-marketed weddings.

6.3. Cultural code-switching

Those who speak two or more languages often include words and sentences from these languages in a single discourse when speaking in different situations. This linguistic phenomenon of combining languages is quite common in a multicultural society like Canada's. Fluent speakers of various languages, unconsciously or consciously, converse with each other, sometimes shifting from one language to the other. In linguistics, this conversational strategy is called "code-switching" (Bonvillain, 1997, p.320). Many scholars have studied code-switching in linguistics, focusing mainly on the grammatical discourse, linguistic function, or the social aspects of this phenomenon among specific bilingual communities. Moreover, some folklorists, such as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1983), have suggested viewing the folklore of ethnicity in terms of multiple cultural repertoires and cultural code-switching:

> Italian families who eat an American-style platter (meat and vegetables) one night and Italian-style gravy (sauce with pasta) the next on a regular basis may be said to engage in cultural code-switching. Just as bilingual speakers may vary in their attitude toward keeping their languages discrete or allowing interpenetrations and code-switching, so too do the attitudes toward the use of the cultural repertoires vary. (p. 43)

Language shapes our worldview and vice versa. In the case of bilinguals, given that most of them have more than one culture, they are likely to use the strategy of code-switching in order to express their unique bicultural worldview. Alternatively, code-switching might result from their diverse cultural backgrounds. Whatever the case is, code-switching appears to have a cultural meaning and function among bilinguals. Even those who are not bilingual, but bicultural, can practice cultural code-switching in their everyday lives. According to Ballard (1934), "Cultures, like languages, are codes, which actors use to express themselves in a given context; and as the context changes, so those with the requisite competence simply switch codes" (p. 31).

In this section, I discuss the process of cultural code-switching in terms of ethnic identity and how Ukrainian Canadians code-switch between their Ukrainian and Canadian identities.

6.3.1 Linguistic code-switching and cultural code-switching

The research on linguistic code-switching has been focused on those who have grown up bilingual. Doing so means growing up with two cultures, so these speakers understandably see themselves as bicultural individuals (Grosjean, 1982, p. 161). From this point of view, linguistic code-switching must be related to cultural code-switching. Thus, this present study examines the results of linguistic code-switching by applying them to cultural code-switching. Throughout the previous chapters, this study has shown that Ukrainian Canadians who are not bilingual can be bicultural or multi-cultural, perceiving themselves as "Ukrainian-Canadians." Therefore, in this study, I include a discussion of not only those who are bilingual, but also those who are bicultural without knowing the Ukrainian language.

Bonvillain (1993) stated that because bilingual speakers possess a larger repertoire of words and linguistic knowledge than mono-lingual speakers, they have more alternatives to choose from when expressing their thoughts (p. 320). Similarly, bicultural individuals also have larger cultural repertoires and more choices. For example, when planning a wedding ritual, a bicultural individual can include rituals from one of his or her cultures and combine them with elements from the other culture. By using more than one ethnic language and culture, the individual can convey precise ideas about whom he or she is to the other participants in the wedding. For example, Tim and Bailey (couple 19), who are both half-Ukrainian, planned their wedding to be half-Ukrainian and half-non-Ukrainian. Since they thought the church ceremony was the centre of a wedding, they asked their priest to perform it as traditionally as possible. They did not want to include elements reflecting the influence of Canadian culture, such as the bride's entrance with her father, wearing the wedding ring on the left hand, and the English service. In contrast, for the reception, Tim and Bailey tried to incorporate non-Ukrainian elements, such as Latin American musicians, Western food, and a hotel location. The code-switching from a Ukrainian church service to a non-Ukrainian reception reflects their Ukrainian-Canadian ethnic identity as well as their consideration for their guests who were also half-Ukrainian and half-non-Ukrainian.

When speaking in one of their languages, many bilinguals are often unable to find the words they are looking for, so they need to code-switch in order to fill that lexical gap (Grosjean, 1982, p. 150). In terms of culture, many Ukrainian-Canadian biculturals also are unable to find the rituals they want in the Canadian mainstream culture. The lack of equivalent words in one language may support the argument that languages are the reflection of different cultures. For instance, compared to kinship terms in English, kinship terms in Ukrainian make a clear distinction of gender, seniority, and generation. Whereas English speakers use a more egalitarian kinship terminology, Ukrainian speakers use a more hierarchical system. Ukrainian and English speakers view the family structure differently. Therefore, some Ukrainian-English bilinguals will switch to Ukrainian in order to introduce Ukrainian kinship terms when talking in English because doing so allows them to specify the addressee and acknowledge that she/he has specific rights and obligations within the family. The kinship terminology used allows individuals to specify the type of relationship between the speaker and a relative (Foley, 1997, pp.

131-149). Thus, many Ukrainian Canadians code-switch from English to Ukrainian in order to use kinship terms, which allow a speaker to specify the addressee and his or her relationship with the speaker. Certain rights and obligations are embedded in such terms. Many of my informants considered that using Ukrainian terms, such as *dido* and *baba* was more appropriate than using English terms *grandpa* and *grandma.* Because of their Ukrainian culture, Ukrainian Canadians consider family values, like respect for elders, important. Thus, when Ukrainian Canadians code-switch to Ukrainian, they are in fact expressing respect and deference to an older generation in their family. During interviews, my informants tended to use Ukrainian not only for kinship terms, but also for certain ritual terms, such as *vinkopletennia*, *korovai*, and *hil'tse* because no equivalent words and rituals exist in English and the Canadian mainstream wedding, respectively, and also because my informants wanted to emphasize the rituals' traditional or ethnic meaning. In the Canadian tradition, "wedding cake" can be an equivalent term for "*korovai*." However, many informants code-switched from "wedding cake" to *korovai* to express their respect for their family and tradition. Indeed, several informants did not include a wedding cake in their weddings, having only *korovai*. For the same reason, some informants had only *vinkopletennia* or *divych vechir*, instead of "bridal shower" or "stagette."

Bonvillain (1993) discussed some other interactional and conversational functions of code-switching. Bilinguals code-switch for emphasis, to express emotions, to convey meaning effectively, and to signal a shift in topic when conversing. These linguistic functions may be related to the cultural functions of code-switching. Most of my informants chose English as the official language at their reception. However, at certain points during the reception, people deliberately code-switched from English to Ukrainian. For example, the parents of the bride and groom often gave their speeches in Ukrainian, and then the bride or the groom used Ukrainian to thank their parents and guests. This code-switching from English to Ukrainian conveyed respect to parents, family, and Ukrainian-speaking guests and also emphasized their heritage and ethnicity. This code-switching also evoked strong emotions in all the attendants at a reception and made some of them shed tears. Kim (couple 29) said that she would never forget the moment that her family stood up and sang "*Mnohaia lita*" in the middle of her wedding reception. Her wedding was predominantly Chinese, following her groom's traditions. Since she rarely expressed her Ukrainian ethnic identity at her wedding, she was very touched by the Ukrainian song, especially as it was sung by her family.

Not only the Ukrainian language, but also Ukrainian music can be used for code-switching. As bilinguals often code-switch from one language to another to signal a shift in topics, bicultural Ukrainian-Canadians often use Ukrainian music for the same reason. When the bride and groom enter the reception hall, the Ukrainian band often plays a Ukrainian march to signal the beginning of the reception. Another example is the first and second dance music. Most of my informants chose an English song as their first dance song. However, for the dance with their parents, some couples code-switched from the English song to a Ukrainian song. They did so for various reasons, but one of them must have been their respect for their parents and their culture.

Foley (1997) argued that code-switching in two languages should be considered as a social marker and "an index of the relative social relationship between speakers" (p. 333). Being fluent in two languages, bilinguals have a language choice. They can opt to talk in either one or the other language depending on the given situation. Foley discussed three different situations: (1) when speaking to intimates, people tend to speak their ethnic language; (2) when demonstrating their knowledge of the prestige code, people usually choose the language which is the social marker associated with the elite class; and (3) when signaling a shared ethnic identity, people usually choose their ethnic language.

For the first situation, Foley provided the example of Paraguayans, who have two official languages, Spanish and Guarani, a native Amerindian language. According to Foley, when Paraguayans speak to intimates, they prefer to speak Guarani, their intimate language. My interview materials indicate that among people of Ukrainian ethnicity, Ukrainian Canadians sometimes prefer to use not only the Ukrainian language but also Ukrainian cultural expressions. Among people of the same ethnicity, cultural connections exist that make them feel close to each other.

Some bilingual speakers, when conversing, prefer to introduce words from a particular language in order to demonstrate their knowledge of the prestige code, knowledge which many individuals perceive as an index of a person's education level and social status. Bonvillain (1997), to illustrate this idea, provided the example of East Indians who speak in English (p. 321): "Society *hii aisii hai*" ("society is like that"). Since colonial times in India, English has become a social marker associated with the elite class and educated people. Switching to a prestigious language while talking allows Hindi speakers to identify themselves as having a specific class status within Indian society. The prestige code can also be applied to the cultural sphere. Some of my informants explained that they had preferred either non-Ukrainian food or fancy Ukrainian food to make their wedding seem more prestigious. Among my informants, one inter-ethnic couple did not express any ethnic code at their wedding because they did not want their ethnicity and race to be focused on during the wedding ceremony. Both of them were members of ethnic minorities in the mainstream Canadian society, and the groom was from a non-white immigrant family. Thus, they preferred to follow the mainstream Canadian wedding rituals, to incorporate prestigious elements into their wedding, such as having their reception at a hotel.

Code-switching can also be used to transmit religious and national ideas. Moreover, it might be used as a form of artistic expression, because code-switching is a creative strategy. Various participants in my study said that they switch to their most intimate language and rituals for religious purposes. Either because they feel more comfortable using their intimate language or because they associate their religion with specific language and rituals, some people prefer to speak Ukrainian and to have Ukrainian rituals at their church services. Because of the distinctive symbols and ethnic elements that a church service provides, some people believe that it conveys not only a religious meaning but also ethnicity. One of a Ukrainian dance performance's functions at wedding receptions is to convey ethnic meaning to the audience. Theatrical Ukrainian dance performances by dancers in traditional Ukrainian costumes deliver a strong ethnic image of Ukraine.

Many of my informants considered code-switching to be an extremely creative and advantageous communicative strategy because it allowed them to explain their ideas precisely and entertainingly to those who had the same linguistic and cultural background. Because bilinguals or/and biculturals have a wide linguistic and cultural knowledge, they are able to play with words and rituals from two languages and cultures.

6.3.2. Attitudes towards code-switching

People can express different opinions when asked about their attitudes towards code-switching. Bilinguals and biculturals, who usually have grown up with two languages and two cultures, have a positive attitude towards it because by code-switching, they can easily convey different ideas. Some bilinguals and/or biculturals think that "it is cool" to switch back and forth between languages or cultures because doing so allows them to present themselves as bi- or multi-cultural.

Other bilinguals and biculturals have a neutral opinion about code-switching. However, like many mono-linguals and mono-culturals, some bilinguals and biculturals try not to use code-switching because, for various reasons, they think that its use is not correct (Grosjean, 1982, pp. 146-149). From a linguistic perspective, this phenomenon occurs because of the speaker's "momentarily inclination" to choose a word in one of his or her languages[3] (Becker, 1997, p. 13). From an anthropological perspective, this inclination can be explained as a phenomenon of patriotism or conservativism. For example, if a person is very traditionalist or is patriotic, he or she can feel negatively about cultural code-switching. The older generations, who tend to be conservative, often dislike the younger generations' code-switching from Ukrainian to Canadian rituals at wedding celebrations. Furthermore, if code-switching has a negative influence on a person's reputation and prestige, the person will not want to use code-switching. Some of my interview materials indicate that many years ago, some of my Ukrainian informants changed their last name or did not speak Ukrainian in public in order not to show others they were Ukrainian. Social inequality and prejudice can help to create a negative attitude toward expressing ethnicity by using code-switching.

Although some people perceive code-switching negatively, their perceptions of it depend on the circumstances, so it must be a rule-governed phenomenon that has a structure and specific functions.

Notes

[1] The festival features visual arts exhibitions, performances of music, dance and theatre, film and video screenings, panel discussions, readings and forums on various arts disciplines. (http://www.montrealasianheritagefestival.com/emandate.html)

[2] Other examples, though with a limited distribution, are *Ukrainski visti*, the local Ukrainian newspaper, CKER and CFCW, CJSR Ukrainian radio show, as well as Kontakt on television.

[3] Becker cited from Lance's finding (1970, p. 53): "When the situation excludes one language, the speakers can use only English or only Spanish. But when the situation allows more freedom, the speaker uses the construction that is closest to the tip of the tongue."

Chapter 7: Conclusions

In this study, I have discussed Ukrainian Canadians' expression of ethnic identity through their wedding rituals. I applied prior research into both wedding rituals and ethnic identity to Ukrainian Canadians in Edmonton. My research scope was narrow, focusing on one ritual among one ethnic community in one geographic location. However, I believe that I can apply more generally what I learned from this study to other ethnic traditions, other rituals, and other locations. Before doing this, I review what has been learned through this study.

Dynamic quality of ethnicity

This study was motivated by sociological works which attempt to show that ethnic experience primarily involves the assimilation of ethnic culture into a larger mainstream culture. Some authors have used statistics on ethnically endogamous and exogamous marriages as indicators of assimilation.

My fieldwork materials partially support this view, showing that the wedding rituals of those couples of Ukrainian single origin tended to include more Ukrainian elements than that of those who married Ukrainian multiple origin spouses. Also, intra-ethnic couples tended to express their ethnic identification more strongly, including more ethnic elements in their wedding rituals than inter-ethnic couples (See Table 14). This data indicates that ethnic intermarriage is somewhat related to lower ethnic identification and that in terms of examining the expression of ethnic identity, ethnic origin is an important factor as sociologists proposed.

Table 14: Number of Ukrainian traits in Ukrainian Canadian weddings.

	Ethnic origin S: single M: mutiple O: non-Ukrainian	Couple No.	Wedding traits				Total	Average number of Ukrainian elements documented
			Pre-wedding phase	Wedding day preparation and marriage service	Wedding reception	Post-wedding phase		
Intra-ethnic couples	S + S	1	16	11	21	3	51	40.25 (483/12)
		2	17	9	19	4	49	
		3	17	6	14	3	40	
		4	4	3	15	2	24	
		5	6	17	13	4	40	
		6	15	9	17	4	45	
		7	17	7	20	4	48	
		8	11	10	20	5	46	
		9	0	0	13	4	17	
		10	18	15	20	2	55	
		11	15	21	21	7	69	
		12	1	1	2	0	4	
	M + S or M + M	13	3	4	11	2	20	22.6 (181/8)
		14	7	3	15	3	28	
		15	0	0	0	1	1	
		16	5	8	12	2	27	
		17	6	14	14	4	38	
		18	0	5	13	2	20	
		19	6	9	6	3	24	
		20	5	3	13	2	23	
Inter-ethnic couples	S + O	21	0	0	8	1	9	19.8 (139/7)
		22	0	0	2	0	2	
		23	12	6	18	3	39	
		24	3	17	6	0	26	
		25	0	0	3	1	4	
		26	6	2	9	1	18	
		27	13	5	20	3	41	
	M + O	28	0	0	3	1	4	8.8 (44/5)
		29	0	0	2	1	3	
		30	0	1	1	0	2	
		31	5	16	9	2	32	
		32	0	0	1	2	3	
	Total possible		39	26	29	10	104	
	Percentage of the total possible which was actually performed		16 % (208/32)/39	Ukrainian church - 37 % (195/20)/26 Non-Ukrainian church - 0.02 % (7/12)/26	39% (361/32)/29	23% (76/32)/10		

However, throughout this study, I argued that there are many other factors that influence on the expression of ethnic identity. In fact, my fieldwork materials indicate that Ukrainian single-origin is not always connected to the expression of strong ethnic identification. Indeed, a number of Ukrainian multiple-origin people expressed stronger ethnic identification than Ukrainian single-origin people did. Furthermore, some inter-ethnic couples were more active in expressing ethnic identification than intra-ethnic couples. For examining ethnic identity, whether a person participates in cultural or religious ethnic organizations can be as important as whether the person has a single or multiple ethnic origin. In this study, two couples of Ukrainian single origin did not express their Ukrainian identity much in their wedding. Neither couple belonged to Ukrainian organizations nor participated in Ukrainian cultural or religious activities. In contrast, among inter-ethnic couples, those who participate in cultural or religious organizations often expressed relatively strong ethnic identity in their weddings. This is clear in Table 14.

Table 15: Ukrainian community activity of thirty-two couples

Ukrainian community activity	Couple numbers	Average number of Ukrainian elements documented (Ukrainian wedding traits/couple numbers)
Both active in church and cultural organizations	1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 17, 19, 20, 27	39.3 % (551/14)
Mixed activity	4, 10, 14, 16, 18, 23, 24, 30, 31, 32	26 % (288/11)
Neither active in church and cultural organizations	12, 15, 21, 22, 25, 26, 28, 29	5.6 % (45/8)

The expression of ethnicity is also related to Ukrainian Canadians' responses to their personal, social, political, religious, economic situations and environments. This study provided evidence that different responses resulted in different forms of ethnic expression. Adapted from Leeds-Hurwitz, I identified four strategies: Weddings that predominantly reflect one ethnic culture, double weddings, weddings that express no ethnic identity, and weddings that combine two ethnic cultures (or two subgroups of the one ethnic culture). These four types of weddings show the potential solutions to the problem of designing intra- and inter-ethnic weddings.

This study viewed ethnicity as a dynamic process, driven by multiple relationships, among Ukrainian Canadians as well as between them and other ethnic people or the mainstream society. These interactions can be competitive, cooperative, or conflictual, and perhaps a combination of all three. From this point of view, I emphasized the notion that what is distinctively "Ukrainian Canadian" has been itself a product of this synergistic encounter of multiple peoples and cultures. Everyone is changed in this dialectical process. This study indicated that Ukrainian Canadians are not always passively assimilated into mainstream culture. In many cases, they actively adapt and negotiate their ethnic identities with mainstream culture and other ethnic cultures. In general, I argued that assimilation is not a linear process. Instead, various communities and individuals construct new ethnic cultures by incorporating, adapting, and even creating cultural attributes.

Ritual, community and ethnic identity

Ritual, community, and ethnic identity were the key concepts framing the discussion presented in this study. Throughout the discussions focusing on these concepts, this study emphasized that ethnicity can be a dynamic and evolving force in Ukrainian Canadian life rather than simply a presentation of old practices.

In this study, a ritual was viewed as an act or actions intentionally conducted by a group of people employing one or more symbols in a repetitive, formal, precise, highly stylized fashion. I focused on one of the important functions of rituals, which is to provide a vehicle for conveying identity. Including ethnic symbols in their wedding and performing wedding rituals in public, Ukrainian Canadians can tell their own story of identity about whom they have come from, who they are now, and who they wish to be in the future. Through the design of particular combinations of cultural identities in a wedding ritual, Ukrainian Canadians can not only display their intentions but also make them true.

For the interviewees for this study, the use of Ukrainian symbols was most frequent at the reception (39%). Those interviewees who were married in a Ukrainian church also tended to demonstrate a high intensity of Ukrainian symbols during the marriage ceremony (37%). The use of Ukrainian symbols was less frequent in marriage ceremonies outside Ukrainian churches (0.02%), as well as generally in the pre-wedding (16%) and the post-wedding activities (24%).

Communities use rituals as one way to convey information to members and to identify particularly significant occasions (Leeds-Hurwitz, 2002, p. 87). This study showed that Ukrainian communities, especially Ukrainian church communities play an important role in promoting Ukrainianness among members, creating elaborate and ethnic elements for weddings. Using their cohesive church organization, church members help to put on a wedding event, creating a sense of community. Relying on the religious and communal resources of the large Ukrainian communities in Edmonton, Ukrainian Canadians make a wedding a telescoped representation of many ethnic symbols. Cultural organizations such as choirs and dance groups can also serve powerfully in this respect, and with similar results.

Ethnic identity can be defined as a statement of who a person is, in terms of ethnic background. I focused on how Ukrainian Canadians construct their identities at weddings, making them visibly manifest, both for themselves, and so that they may share them with others. Thus, this study attempted to find material elements, especially ethnic symbols that Ukrainian Canadians choose in their wedding. Ukrainian Canadians adapt traditional symbols to new settings and also invent new forms of ethnic symbols and rituals, incorporating traditional culture into them.

Continuity and change: Ukrainian Canadian weddings

Continuity and change are two distinctive characteristics of wedding rituals. Because of these paradoxical characteristics of folklore – one conservative, the other dynamic – as Toelken (1979) described, wedding rituals have numerous versions and variants and are performed in different situations at different times. This study suggested that we should view culture not as the simple survival or the sum of old traditions, but as a dynamic system of changing entities which are unfolded, developed, or erased by a variety of forces.

Ukrainian weddings in Canada have been influenced by various contextual changes. The social, economic, legal, religious, and educational influences on culture have caused the changes in Ukrainian wedding traditions in Canada. While the five-day workweek, the Canadian Temperance Act, commercialism, the mass media, religion, and other factors influenced the form, content, and pattern of Ukrainian weddings, new meanings (educational, social, national, and artistic meanings) that are pervasive in the lives of current generations have also influenced the purpose and meaning of Ukrainian wedding rituals.

Influenced by contextual changes, the Ukrainian wedding tradition in Canada has changed in its form, order, and space. Some symbols and rituals were renewed from old customs while new ones were created. One distinctive change in Ukrainian wedding rituals is that contemporary Ukrainian Canadian weddings are not performed in the bride's house any more, so some of its old rituals and symbols have totally disappeared while others have been assigned to different periods of the wedding process. Another important feature of Ukrainian Canadian wedding rituals is that Ukrainian communities play an important role in these rituals. The bride's house has been replaced with a Ukrainian (church or cultural) hall for the wedding celebration while the roles of the traditional wedding participants have been taken over by community members. Thus, the Ukrainian community has become a small cultural island where Ukrainian Canadians continue to preserve and create their wedding traditions, promoting and confirming their ethnic identity.

This study emphasized that the Ukrainian Canadian wedding is also a product of synergistic encounter of multiple cultures and a cultural product of modern society. The stereotypical perception of contemporary weddings is that they are influenced by transnational capitalism and have become mass-marketed and homogeneous. In this study I discussed four elements (White Anglo-Saxon culture, popular culture, the mass media, and the wedding industry) that play important roles in creating the dominant mainstream Canadian wedding culture and reviewed how Ukrainian Canadians respond to those elements in planning their weddings. This study indicated that Ukrainian Canadians are not always passively assimilated into mainstream culture. In many cases, they actively adapt and negotiate their ethnic identities with mainstream culture and other ethnic cultures.

Through this study, I explained that the forces pushing for assimilation, particularly in the case of Ukrainian Canadians are (1) the Canadian legal, social, political, economic, and other systems, (2) new value systems created by Anglo-Saxon culture, popular culture, mass media, the wedding industry, and other influences, and (3) political, economic and social inequality (prejudice). I also explained the major reasons why ethnic identities remain important for Ukrainian Canadians: (1) individuals desire to retain their heritage; (2) they hope to benefit by using group power, and (3) they are always reminded of their difference by living in a multicultural society.

Dual identity: Ukrainian and Canadian identities

During my interviews, many informants expressed their pride in being Ukrainian and Canadian and sought ways to articulate these different dimensions of their identities in their own terms. In some cases, several informants rejected either their Ukrainian or Canadian identity. If they faced social prejudice, inequality, political pressure, economic disadvantage, or other various problems because of their ethnic origin, they chose a Canadian identity. In contrast, if they were conservative or patriotic, they chose a Ukrainian ethnicity. However, for most Ukrainian Canadians in my study, their Ukrainian identity did not conflict with a Canadian identity, although in different situations, one of these identities might be expressed more strongly than the other. Many couples agreed with couple 19, who said, "We always just say we are Ukrainian. Now we say two halves make a whole. We respect our other side, but I mean, what we live day to day is Ukrainian everything (couple 19)." This same couple also emphasized their Canadian ethnicity: "We are Canadian, we are very proud to be Canadian. . . . We are living in Canada, so we are Canadian. . . . . We don't really identify with Ukraine as a country. I mean we did, but, it's not the part of us, it is idealized" (couple 19). Ukrainian and Canadian flags at the wedding of couple 9 (See Photo 63, p. 165)) reflected these dual identities of Ukrainian Canadians in Edmonton, who unconsciously or consciously express these identities not only in their weddings but also in their everyday lives.

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Interviews:

1. Married couples

Alfred, Wayne and Lorraine. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Calgary. Dec. 12, 2003

Botnik, Mike and Joanne. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. February 15, 2004.

Bootsman, Julianna Valentyna. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. December 10, 2003.

Bryson, Steven and Vererven, Tanya. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. Sept. 2003.

Corry, Richard and Sunea. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Calgary. Mar. 21, 2003.

Chromiec, Allen and Maria. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. July 21, 2003.

Fialka, Orest and Anna. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. July 22, 2003.

Galas, Mark and Lloyanne. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. July, 13, 2003.

Gibson, Shane and Zakordonski, Shalynn. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. August 21, 2003.

Iszenko, Kevin and Sonia. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. July 27, 2003.

Kolomijchuk, Jerry and Irene. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. July 7, 2003.

Kornylo, Michael and Gena. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. May 21, 2003.

Kuchta, Dennis and Diana. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. August 19, 2003.

Kwasnycia, Mark and Andrea. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton.

February 1, 2004.

Kyliuk, Quentin and Julie. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. July 27, 2004.

Lee, Angela and Insu. (Pseudonym) Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Vancouver. May 25, 2003.

Loh, Adrian and Kim. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. April 5, 2004.

Mackey, Steven and Tatyana. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. Nov. 18, 2003.

McDonald, Grant and Karen. Rocorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. Dec. 2, 2003.

Nahachewsky, Bohdan and Jess. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. June 24, 2003.

Pacholok, Greg and Eshenko, Luba. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. June 29, 2003.

Pacholock, Rob and Angela. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. August 18, 2003.

Pankiw, Ken and Svytlana. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. June 22, 2003.

Sousa, Tim and Bailey. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. April 4, 2004.

Shewchuk, Terry and Yvana. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. Sept. 2, 2003.

Turgen, Marc and Melanie. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. June 3, 2004.

Walters, Michael and Kara. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. Sept. 11, 2003.

William, James and Botnik, Olha. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton.

February 22, 2004.

Wojtiw, Walter and Sonya. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. August 28, 2003.

Yakymets, Yuriy and Markiana. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. Aug. 13, 2003.

2. Individuals

Iszenko, Sonia. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. May 27, 2004.

Kravec, Roman. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. May 29. 2004.

Lakusta, Reverend Father Victor. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. May 27, 2004.

Malanchuk, Jenny. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. May 30, 2004.

Pacholok, Greg. Written survey by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. May 21, 2004.

Planchak, Reverend Father Mihajlo. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. May 20, 2004

Radesh, Eileen. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. Sept. 20, 2003.

Rees, Vincent. Recorded interview by Sogu Hong. Edmonton. May 29, 2004.

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Appendix 1

List of fieldwork questions

Personal Information

1. Please introduce yourself: your name, age and occupation.
2. Are you a member of the second or third generation of a Ukrainian immigrant family?
3. Were there any mixed marriages in your parents' or grandparents' generations?
4. Where were you born?
5. Where did you grow up before you married?
6. Have you ever attended any bilingual schools?
7. Do you belong to any Ukrainian cultural organizations?
8. Are your parents members of any Ukrainian cultural organizations?
9. Where do your parents live now?
10. How do you identify yourself in terms of ethnicity?
    (1) a Canadian
    (2) a Ukrainian-Canadian
    (3) a Ukrainian
    (4) other

11. How do you identify your parents and grandparents in terms of ethnicity?
    (1) a Canadian
    (2) a Ukrainian-Canadian
    (3) a Ukrainian
    (4) other

12. How do you identify your partner in terms of ethnicity?
    (1) a Canadian
    (2) a Ukrainian-Canadian
    (3) a Ukrainian
    (4) other

The Pre- Wedding Phase

Dating

1. How did you meet each other?
2. Was your marriage pre-arranged and, if so, by whom?
3. How long was your courtship?

The Betrothal / Engagement

4. How did your future husband propose to you?
5. How did you accept his proposal?
6. Did you accept by yourself and then share the news with your family?
7. What was your parents' response?
8. How did you announce your engagement to your friends and others?
9. Did you have any engagement ceremony? What was it?

Arrangements

10. For how long did you organize the arrangements for your wedding? When did you start, and what did you do first? Did you have list of what you had to do?
11. Who was in charge of your wedding?
12. Did you organize the arrangements by yourself? Did anyone influence wedding arrangements? For example, did your parents ask you to do something traditional?

Marriage preparation course and Marriage Banns

13. How did you decide where to marry? Whose decision was it? Did you have any trouble with the decision?
14. Did you have a marriage preparation course at a church?
15. How did you decide on your wedding date?

License

16. When and where did you obtain your marriage license?

Dowry

17. Did your parents give you a dowry for your wedding?
18. Did your parents provide any financial support or household goods for your wedding?

Invitations

19. How were the attendants selected? How many attendants did you have?
20. Did you make your invitation cards? How did you make them?
21. Did you design them by yourself? If so, what motifs or symbols did you use? Did you use the Ukrainian language on your invitations? What was the wording?

Bridal Shower

22. Did you have a bridal shower? When did you have it?
23. Who hosted it and where was it?
24. Who was invited?
25. What was the program for your bridal shower?
26. What kinds of gifts did you receive?
27. What kinds of foods were served? Who prepared them?

Derevtse or hil'tse (wedding tree)

28. Did you have a ritual for making a wedding tree?
29. Can you explain how the ritual was carried out? Who decided to have this ritual? When was it performed? Who participated in it? How was the tree decorated?

Korovai or kolach (wedding bread)

30. Did you have wedding bread? What was it called? How many loaves of bread were prepared?
31. Who made them? Was any special ritual performed, related to the wedding bread?
32. What did it look like?
33. What did you do with the wedding bread?

Stag / Stagtte

34. Did you have a bachelor or a bachelorette's party?
35. What was it called?
36. Who hosted it?
37. What was the main program? What was the purpose of this event?
38. Was any special ritual performed?

Vinkopletennia (Wreath-weaving ritual)

39. Did you have a wreath-weaving ceremony? What did you call it?
40. When and where did it take place?
41. Who decided to have this ceremony? Who participated in this ritual?
42. What was the procedure of the ritual?
43. Did it include the singing of songs? What kinds of songs were sung?
44. What was the groom's role in the ceremony?

The Wedding Day

Dressing

45. How were the bride and groom dressed?
46. Did you (bride) wear a *vinok* (wreath)? What did it look like?
47. Did you have any special ritual related to your wedding dress?

Blahoslovennia (Blessing)

48. Did you have a ritual blessing by your parents? If so, when did you have it? Where was it performed?
49. What was the procedure for this ritual?

Wedding procession

50. How did you get to the church (or an other place for your wedding ceremony)?
51. Did you rent a car? How many cars were involved in your wedding procession?
52. How were the wedding cars decorated? Who decorated them?

The church marriage ceremony

53. When was the church marriage ceremony performed? Who decided its time and date? Why?
54. Please explain the procedure for the church ceremony?
55. How many guests attended the ceremony? Who were they?
56. What did your parents wear? Did anyone wear a traditional costume?
57. What music was played? Who played it? What songs were sung? Who decided?
58. Was there any specific decoration for your wedding at the church?
59. Did your ceremony include any ritual that indicated or emphasized ethnic culture?
60. Who walked with the bride down the aisle? Who decided who would walk with the bride?
61. Did you have *starosty* or special icon bearers who carried the icons of Jesus and the Mother of God?

Throwing confetti

62. What happened outside of the church just after the wedding ceremony?
63. Did people throw grains or confetti? Who threw them?

Photographs

64. Did you have a photographer? Where, when, and with whom were your wedding photos taken?

Wedding reception

65. Where did you have your wedding reception? Who decided on its location?
66. How many guests did you have?
67. Did you decorate the reception area? How and when did you decorate it? What was the theme of the decorations?
68. How were you welcomed into the reception hall?
69. How did the reception begin?
70. What was the program for the reception?
71. What language was used?

72. Did your parents perform a blessing and greeting ritual for you?
73. Did you have a music band or singers? How many musicians played? Who hired them? Who paid them? What kinds of music or songs did they play?
74. Did your reception include dancing? What kinds of dances were performed?
75. Were there folk dance performances? Who invited the performers?
76. Did people sing any songs? What kinds of songs did they sing and in what language?

Supper

77. When did supper begin?
78. What was the menu? Who prepared the food?
79. Did you consider having any traditional ethnic food? Why or why not?

Formal program and toasts

80. Did you have a formal program after the meal?
81. Did you have a master of ceremonies? Who was he or she? What language did he or she speak?
82. Please summarize the program.
83. What did people say during their speeches?
84. What music or songs were played or sung?
85. What kinds of rituals were performed?

Darovannia (presentation of gifts)

86. Did you have a presentation of gifts?
87. When did it take place?
88. What were the gifts? Who gave you gifts?
89. Did any specific rituals accompany the gift presentation?
90. Did you have any presents for your guests? What were these presents? How did you present them?

Tossing the bouquet and garter

91. Did *you* have a ritual tossing of the bouquet and garter? Why did you have this ritual?

Lunch at midnight

92. Did you have a late lunch at your wedding reception? What was the menu? What time did you have the lunch?
93. How did the reception end? At what time?

After the reception

94. Where did you go after the reception?
95. What did your guests do after the reception? Did they go somewhere else to celebrate?

The Post-wedding Phase

Popravyny (The post-wedding ceremonies)

96. Did you have any formal ritual the day after your wedding day?
97. What ritual was performed? Where? What was it called?
98. Did you have any food at this ceremony? What was the menu? Who prepared the food?
99. Did the ceremony include live music? What kinds of music were played?

Concluding Questions

100. Do you think your wedding would have been different if you had married a person of your ethnic background?
101. If you could repeat your wedding process again, what different wedding rituals would you include?
102. How much were you influenced by the wedding industry?
103. Did you read any wedding books? Did you consult wedding specialists?
104. Did other weddings influence your wedding?

105. Did your family or friends ever pressure you to include a particular ritual in your wedding?

106. How would you describe your wedding in terms of ethnic identity?

Appendix 2
Information on interviewees

Intra-ethnic couples (1-20) / Inter-ethnic couples (20-32)

Couple No.	Name	Birth Place	Wedding Year	Wedding Place	Ukrainian Community activity		Recent immigrant	Ethnic origin S: Ukrinian Single M: Ukrainian Multiple O: Non-Ukrainian
					Church	Cultural Org.		
1	Jerry Kolomijchuk	Calgary	May, 1989	Edmonton	yes	yes	no	S
	Irene Kolomijchuk	Edmonton			yes	yes		
2	Orest Fialka	Edmonton	June, 1989	Edmonton	yes	yes	no	S
	Anna Fialka	Edmonton			yes	yes		
3	Greg Pacholok	Athabasca	July, 1989	Edmonton	yes	yes	no	S
	Luba Eshenko	Edmonton			yes	yes		
4	Lawrence Radesh	Wellingdon	June, 1990	Wellingdon (near Edmonton)	yes	no	no	S
	Eileen Radesh	Two Hills			yes	yes		
5	Walter Wojtiw	Edmonton	July, 1990	Edmonton	yes	yes	no	S
	Sonya Wojtiw	Edmonton			yes	yes		
6	Dennis Kuchta	Saskatoon	August, 1990	Edmonton	yes	yes	no	S
	Diana Kuchta	Edmonton			yes	yes		
7	Kevin Iszenko	Edmonton	May, 1992	Edmonton	yes	yes	no	S
	Sonia Iszenko	Edmonton			yes	yes		
8	Mark Galas	Edmonton	June, 1996	St. Paul	yes	yes	no	S
	Lloyanne Galas	Ukraine			yes	yes		
9	Ken Pankiw	Edmonton	October 1996	Kyiv, Ukraine	yes	yes	no	S
	Svytlana Pankiw	Kyiv			yes	yes	yes	

Couple No.	Name	Birth Place	Wedding Year	Wedding Place	Ukrainian Community activity		Recent immigrant	Ethnic origin S: Ukrinian Single M: Ukrainian Multiple O: Non-Ukrainian
					Church	Cultural Org.		
10	Bohdan Nahachewsky	Saskatoon	July, 1998	Near Edmonton	yes	no	no	S
	Jess Nahachewsky	Near Edmonton			yes	no		
11	Michael Kornylo	Saskatoon	September, 1998	Edmonton / Saskatoon	yes	yes	no	S
	Gena Kornylo	Edmonton			yes	yes	no	
12	Allen Chromiec	Edmonton	July, 2002	Edmonton	no	no	no	S
	Maria Chromiec	Ukraine			no	no		
13	Steve Bryson	Victoria	September 1998	Edmonton	yes	yes	no	M
	Tanya Verderven	Vancouver			yes	yes	yes	
14	Grant McDonald	Edmonton	February, 2001	Edmonton	no	yes	no	M
	Karen McDonald	Edmonton			no	yes		S
15	Michael Walters	Near Edmonton	June, 2001	Edmonton	no	no	no	M
	Kara Dublenko-Walters	Edmonton			no	no		S
16	Terry Shewchuk	St. Paul	June, 2002	Edmonton	yes	no	no	S
	Yvana Shewchuk	St. Paul			yes	no		M
17	Yuriy Yakymets	L'viv	June, 2003	Edmonton	yes	yes	yes	S
	Markiana Yakymets	Edmonton			yes	yes	no	M
18	Shane Gibson	Edmonton	July, 2003	Edmonton	yes	yes	no	M
	Shalynn Zakordonski	Edmonton			yes	no		S
19	Tim Sousa	Edmonton	August, 2003	Edmonton	yes	yes	no	M
	Bailely Sousa	Montreal			yes	yes		
20	Mike Botnik	Edmonton	January, 2004	Edmonton	yes	yes	no	M
	Joanne Botnik	Edmonton			yes	yes		
21	Rob Pacholok	Athabasca	June, 1994	Edmonton	no	no	no	S
	Angela Pacholok	Edmonton			no	no		O (Belgian)

Couple No.	Name	Birth Place	Wedding Year	Wedding Place	Ukrainian Community activity		Recent immigrant	Ethnic origin S: Ukrinian Single M: Ukrainian Multiple O: Non-Ukrainian
					Church	Cultural Org.		
22	Insu Lee (Pseudonym)	Germany	April, 1997	Edmonton	no	no	no	O (Korean)
	Angela Lee(Pseudonym)	Edmonton			no	no		S
23	Wayne Alfred	Edmonton	September 1999	Edmonton	yes	no	no	O (English)
	Lorraine Alfred	Edmonton			yes	yes		S
24	Marc Turgen	Lac La Bicho (Near Edmonton)	May, 2000	Edmonton	yes	no	no	O (French)
	Melanie Turgen	Edmonton			yes	yes		S
25	Richard Corry	Edmonton	October, 2002	Edmonton	no	no	no	S
	Sunea Corry	Edmonton			no	no		O (Korean)
26	Quentin Kyliuk	Saskatoon	June, 2003	Edmonton	no	no	no	S
	Julie Kyliuk	Calgary			no	no		O (English)
27	Steven Mackey	Edmonton	August, 2003	Edmonton	yes	yes		O (English-Dutch)
	Tetyana Mackey	Transcarparthian, Ukraine			yes	yes	yes	S
28	Mark Kwasnycia	Near Edmonton	July, 1993	Camrose (Near Edmonton)	no	no	no	M
	Andrea Kwasnycia				no	no		O (Swedish)
29	Adrian Loh	Brunai	June, 2001	Edmonton	no	no	no	O (Chinese)
	Kim Loh	Edmonton			no	no		M
30	Chad Forsman		August, 2002	Mutte, Montana	no	no	no	O (Swedish)
	Lisa McDonald	Edmonton			yes	yes		M

Couple No.	Name	Birth Place	Wedding Year	Wedding Place	Ukrainian Community activity		Recent immigrant	Ethnic origin S: Ukrinian Single M: Ukrainian Multiple O: Non-Ukrainian
					Church	Cultural Org.		
31	Marius Veltman	South Africa	October, 2003	Edmonton	no	no	yes	O (South African)
	Julianne V. Bootsman	Edmonton			yes	yes	no	M
32	James William (Pseudonym)	Edmonton	October, 2003	Edmonton	no	no	no	O (Sri - Lankan)
	Olha Botnik (Pseudonym)	Edmonton			yes	yes		M

(0=yes / X=no)

(*) Ukrainian wedding traits, used in table 13, 14

Appendix 3-1

Wedding traits included in Ukrainian Canadian Weddings
(During the pre-wedding phase)

	Ritual	Ritual traits	(*)	Couple number																			
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
The Pre-Wedding Phase	Dating		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		matchmaker	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	The betrothal		o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Arrangements		o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Marriage banns		o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	License		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	0	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
	Invitations		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainian inscription	o	o	o	x	x	x	o	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian motifs	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Derevtse (or hilt'se)		o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		standard term imployed	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		starosta's blessing	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian singing	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		decorations (Ukrainian symbols)	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Korovai making		o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o·	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o
		Term korovai employed	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o
		selection of korovainytsia	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o
		ritualistic making	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	o	o	x	x	o
		Ukrainian singings	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		decorations (Ukrainian symbols)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	o	o	x	o	o
		korovai number	o	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	4	x	x	1	x	1	1	x	1	1
		other wedding breads	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	x
	Bridal shower		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainian langauge	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian food	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian singings	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian gift	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		decoration (Ukrainian symbols)	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian hall / church	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Vinkopletennia		o	o	o	o	x	x	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
		barvinok	o	o	o	o	x	x	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
		singing Ukrainian songs	o	x	o	o	x	x	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		blessing	o	x	o	o	x	x	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		selling vinok	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		dancing	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Couple's Posad		o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		at the bride's parents' home	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		singing	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Divych vechir		o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Standard term employed	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian singings	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian food	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		other rituals	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Rehearsal		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o
		wearing Ukrainian costume	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Dinner with family		x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

	Ritual	Ritual traits	(*)	Couple number											
				21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
The Pre-Wedding Phase	Dating		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		matchmaker	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	The betrothal		o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Arrangements		o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Marriage banns		o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	License		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
	Invitations		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainian inscription	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian motifs	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Derevtse (or hilt'se)		o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		standard term implyed	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		starosta's blessing	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian singing	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		decorations (Ukrainian symbols)	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Korovai making		o	x	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	x	o	x
		Term korovai employed	o	x	x	o	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	x
		selection of korovainytsia	o	x	x	o	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	x
		ritualistic making	o	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	o	x
		Ukrainian singing	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		decorations (Ukrainian symbols)	o	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	o	x
		korovai number	o	x	x	1	1	x	1	1	x	x	x	1	x
		other Ukrainian wedding breads	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x
	Bridal shower		x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainian language	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian food	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian singing	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian gift	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x
		decoration (Ukrainian symbols)	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian hall / church	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Vinkopletennia		o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x
		barvinok	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x
		singing Ukrainian songs	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x
		blessing	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x
		selling vinok	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		dancing	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Couple's Posad		o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		at the bride's parents' home	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		singing	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Divych vechir		o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Standard term employed	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian singings	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian food	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		other rituals	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Rehearsal		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		wearing Ukrainian costume	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Dinner with family		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

(o = yes, x = no)

(*) Ukrainian wedding traits used in table 13, 14

Appendix 3-2

Wedding traits included in Ukrainian Canadian Weddings
(During wedding-day preparation and marriage service)

	Ritual	Ritual traits	(*)	Couple number																			
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Wedding Day -church service	Preparation at the bride's home		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		wedding participants are present	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o
		making of the bride's hair	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		wreath is placed on the bride's head	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		wedding dress is adorned with objects	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		wearing an old object	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		parents' blessing	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x
		Ukrainian singings	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Preparation at the groom's home		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		wearing Ukrainian shirt	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x
		parents' blessing	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	o
		leaving for the bride's home	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Couple's blessing		o	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	o
		arrival of the groom's party	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x
		parents greet the groom's party	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x
		Item present	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x
		starosty lead the act	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x
		blessing of the couple toegether	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		blessing separately	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x
		blessing only the bride or groom	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o
	Wedding procession		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		the bride and groom go to church toget	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		the bride and groom go to church sepa	x	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	x	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		transported by a car	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x
		on foot	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o
	Church service		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	x
		the bride steps on the threshold first	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		the bride steps on the embroidery first	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		walking down the ailes with father	x	x	o	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	o	o	o	x	x	o	o	x	o
		bride/groom entering together	o	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
		engagement ritual at the back of churc	o	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	x
		service language - Ukrainian	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	x
		wedding place: Ukrainian church	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	x	x	o	o	o	o	x
		Ukrainian choir	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	x
		icon bearer(s)	o	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	x
		crowning	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	x	x	o	o	o	o	x
		binding hands with embroidery	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	o	o	x
		walking around the altar three times	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	o	o	x
		bride's blessing by the pirest	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x
		registering	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
	Photograph		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainian photographer	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		outdoor photos	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		studio photos	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x

	Ritual	Ritual traits	(*)	Couple number											
				21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Wedding Day -church service	Preparation at the bride's home		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		wedding participants are present	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		making of the bride's hair	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		wreath is placed on the bride's head	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
		wedding dress is adorned with objects	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
		wearing an old object	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	o	x
		parents' blessing	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
		Ukrainian singings	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
	Preparation at the groom's home		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		wearing Ukrainian shirt	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		parents' blessing	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x
		leaving for the bride's home	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Couple's blessing		o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x
		arrival of the groom's party	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		parents greet the groom's party	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Item present	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		starosty lead the act	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		blessing of the couple toegether	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		blessing separately	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		blessing only the bride or groom	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	o	x
	Wedding procession		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		the bride and groom go to church toget	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		the bride and groom go to church sepa	x	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		transported by a car	x	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o
		on foot	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Church service		x	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o
		the bride steps on the threshold first	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		the bride steps on the embroidery first	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		walking down the aile with father	x	o	o	o	x	o	x	o	o	o	o	x	o
		bride/groom entering together	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
		engagement ritual at the back of churcl	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
		service language - Ukrainian	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
		wedding place: Ukrainian church	o	x	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	x
		Ukrainian choir	o	x	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	x
		icon bearer(s)	o	x	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	x
		crowning	o	x	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	x
		binding hands with embroidery	o	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
		walking around the altar three times	o	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
		bride's blessing by the pirest	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
		registering	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
	Photograph		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainian photographer	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
		outdoor photos	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		studio photos	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

(o = yes / x = no)

Appendix 3-3

Wedding traits included in Ukrainian Canadian Weddings
(During wedding reception)

(*) Ukrainian wedding traits used in Table 13, 14

	Ritual	ritual trait	(*)	Couple number																			
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Wedding day - wedding reception	Wedding recpetion hall		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainan community hall	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	o	o	o	x	x
		Ukrainian church facility	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o
		hotel	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x
		other hall or restaurant	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x
	Receiving lines		o	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	x	o	o	o	x	o
	Coctail party		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o
		open bar	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o		o	o		o	x	x	o	o	o	x	o
	Blessing		o	o	o	x	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	x
		bread and salt	o	o	o		o		o	o	o	o	o	o			o					o	
		hard liquor, holy water, or honey	o	o	x		o		x	o	o	o	o	o			o					x	
		Ukrainian language	o	o	o	o	x		o	o	o	o	o	o			x					x	
		near the entrance of the hall	o	o	o		o		o	o	o	o	o	o			o					x	
		in the middle of the hall	o	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x			x					x	
	entering march		o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainian music	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o		o	o		o	o		o	o	o	x	o
	Music band		o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainian instrument	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x
		Playing Ukrainian music	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o		o	o		o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainian costume	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x		x	x		x	x	x	x	x
	DJ		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian music	o																				
		Ukrainian costume	o																				
	Introductary program		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainian MC	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	o
		Ukrainian language	o	x	o	x	x	o	o	o	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x
		setting the headtable	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	x	o
		Introducing the headtable	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	x	o
	Supper		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o
		Blessing in Ukrainian	o	o	o	x	x	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	o	x		o
		Ukrainain food	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o		o
		sit down dinner	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o		x
		buffet	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x		o
	Official program		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		speech	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		toast	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Singing mnohaia lita	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	x	x	o	o	o	o	x
	Slideshow		x	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	o
		Ukrainian elements	o	x	x	x						x		o					x				x
	Cake cutting		x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainian element on cake	o				o				x			o	x	x	x		x		x		x
	Firstdance		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainian music	o	o	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Performance		x	o	o	o	o	x	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	x	o	x	o
		Dance group performance	o	o	o	o	o			o	o		o	o		o	o				o		o
		Instrument performance	o	x	x	x	x			x	x			o		x	x				x		x
	Darovannia		o	o	o	o	o	x	o	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Latelunch		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	x	o
		Ukrainian food	o	x	x	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o		x	o		o	o	o		o
	Trowing bouqet and garter		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o
	Social dance		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		kolomyika	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o		o	o		o	o	x	o	o	o	x	o

	Ritual	ritual trait	(*)	Couple number											
				21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Wedding day - wedding reception	Wedding recpetion hall		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainan community hall	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	x
		Ukrainian church facility	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		hotel	x	x	o	x	o	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o
		other hall or restaurant	x	o	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	o	o	x	x
	Receiving lines		o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x
	Coctail party		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o
		open bar	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o		x	o	o
	Blessing		o	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x
		bread and salt	o			o				o					
		hard liquor, holy water, or honey	o			o				o					
		Ukrainian language	o			x				o					
		near the entrance of the hall	o			x				o					
		in the middle of the hall	o			o				x					
	Entering march		o	o	x	o	x	x	o	o	x	o	x	o	x
		Ukrainian music	o	o		o			o	o		x		x	
	Music band		o	o	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian instrument	o	x		x			x						
		Playing Ukrainian music	o	o		o			o						
		Ukrainian costume	o	x		x			x						
	DJ		x	x	o	x	o	o	x	o	o	o	x	o	o
		Ukrainian music	o		x		o	x		o	o	x		o	x
		Ukrainian costume	o		x		x	x		x	x	x		x	x
	Introductary program		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainian MC	o	o	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	x
		Ukrainian language	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x
		setting the headtable	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Introducing the headtable	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
	Vecheria		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Blessing in Ukrainian	o	x	x	o	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainain food	o	o	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	o	x
		sit down dinner	x	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		buffet	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Official program		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		speech	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		toast	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Singing mnohaia lita	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x
	Slideshow		x	x	x	x	x	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	x
		Ukrainian elements	o					x	o		x	x		x	
	Cake cutting		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainian element on cake	o	x		o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x
	Firstdance		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainian music	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Performance		x	x	x	o	o	o	x	o	x	x	x	o	x
		Dance group performance	o			o		o		o				o	
		Instrument or quior performance	o			x	o	x		x				x	
	Darovannia		o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Latelunch		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o
		Ukrainian food	o	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	x	x		x	x
	Trowing bouqet and garter		x	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o
	Social dance		x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o

Appendix 3-4

Wedding traits included in Ukrainian Canadian Weddings
(Durint the post-wedding phase)

	Ritual	ritual trait	(*)	Couple number																			
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Post-wedding phase	Post-weddingparty		o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		"popravyny" term applied	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	o	x	o	x
		"gift-opening" term applied	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o
		any other term applied	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian food	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
		Ukrainian singing and music	o	x	o	x	x	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x
		Ukrainian band	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Place: Ukrainian community hall	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x
		Place: Ukrainian church	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Place: the bride's parents' home	o	o	o	o	x	o	o	x	o	x	x	o	x	o	o	x	o	x	x	o	o
	Mock wedding		o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x
	Abduc tion		o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

	Ritual	ritual trait	(*)	Couple number											
				21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32
Post-wedding phase	Post-weddingparty		o	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	x
		"popravyny" term applied	o	x	x	o	x	x	x	o	x	x	x	x	x
		"gift-opening" term applied	x	o	o	o	x	o	o	o	o	o	x	o	x
		any other term applied	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian food	o	x	x	o	x	x	o	o	x	x	x	o	x
		Ukrainian singing and music	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Ukrainian band	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Place: Ukrainian community hall	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Place: Ukrainian church	o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
		Place: the bride's parents' home	o	o	x	o	x	o	x	o	o	o	x	o	x
	Mock wedding		o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Abduc tion		o	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Appendix 4
Glossary

Term	Description
baba	grandmother
baran	ram
Bandura / bandurist	musical instrument with many strings
barvinok	periwinkle
blahoslovennia	blessing
boiary	groomsmen
borshch	beet soup
cymbaly	musical instrument; a hammered dulcimer
darovannia	presentation of gifts
derevtse	wedding tree
dido	grandfather
divych vechir	maiden's evening
dopyty	ceremony of inquiries about a perspective bride or groom
druzhba	groom's senior bestman
druzhka	bridesmaid, a female member of the bride's party
hil'tse	wedding tree or a branch used as a wedding tree
hirko	bitter
holubtsi	cabbage rolls
hopak	Ukrainian national dance
kolach	ritual bread
kolomyika	dance
komora	storeroom, in a traditional village farmstead is prepared
korovai	wedding bread
korovaichyky	many small *korovai*
korovainytsia	a woman who makes the wedding breads
kovbasa	Ukrainian sausage
krutsi	swirls
kulesha	porridge, gruel
mirta	myrtle
mnohaia lita	May God grant many happy years
ohliadyny	inspection of the groom's and his family's assets
pereima	the ritual of interception or ransom
perepii	toast, a ceremony with a toast and alcoholic drink
perezva	post-wedding party
pysanky	decorated Easter eggs
pidstarosta	an assistant matchmaker
poizd	wedding train

pokhid	wedding procession
popravyny	celebration which occurs the day after the wedding
posad	corner of honour, where the bride and groom would sit
posad molodykh	couple's sitting together in the holy corner
proshchi	forgiveness rite
pyrih / pyrohy	dumpling / dumplings
rozhliadyny	inspection of the groom's family's assets
rozpletyny	unplaiting of the bride's hair
rushnyk	an embroidered cloth
sadochok	kindergarten
shliub	marriage ceremony or ecclesiastical service
starosta	a matchmaker who conducts most of the wedding ceremonies
svakha	a middle-aged woman who participates in various wedding rituals or a female matchmaker
svatannia	matchmaking ceremony
tetrapod	small altar
tsyhanshchyna	"gypsy raids" - a mock wedding that sometimes takes place near the end of a wedding celebration
uberannia	dressing of the bride
uhovoryny	agreement ceremony on the pre-wedding
vecheria	supper
vesil'nyi den'	wedding day
vesillia	traditional wedding
vesillia u molodoho	celebrations at the groom's house
vesillia u molodoi	celebrations at the bride's house
vivat	verse sung in honour of the couple during *darovannia* or *perepii*
vinchannia	church wedding ceremony
vinkopletennia	wreath-weaving
vino	dowry
vinok / vinky	a wreath / wreaths
vyhuliannia	dancing with the bride
vykup vinochka i buketiv	buying of the bride's wreath and bouquets
zapovidi	Marriage banns
zaprosyny	the invitation of wedding guests
zaruchyny	engagement ceremony
Zmovyny	event at which various details concerning the wedding are finalized